

THE MONTH

A Catholic Magazine and Review.

AUGUST, 1888.

CONTENTS.

1. THE RECENT ENCYCLICAL ON LIBERTY. <i>By the Editor</i>	457
2. THE SECOND SUMMER	467
3. THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CLASSES OF PARIS. <i>By Archdekan Cody</i>	485
4. THE ALLEGED ANTIQUITY OF ANGLICANISM. Concluding Article. The Papacy in the days of St. Augustine. <i>By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith</i>	499
5. FRA ILDEFONSO'S GUEST. <i>By J. S. Fletcher</i>	525
6. THE OLD PHILOSOPHY IN ITS BEARINGS ON EVOLUTION. <i>By Henry Browne</i>	529
7. SOME FACTS ABOUT ST. DOMINIC.	543
8. SONNET. Suggested by a Passage in Origen. <i>By Aubrey de Vere</i>	557
9. TIPHAINE LA FÉE. <i>By Edith Staniforth</i> Chapters IV.—VI.	558

REVIEWS

- I. Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton. From the French of Mrs. Augustus Craven. By H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 2. The Carthusian Martyrs. 3. Lectures on Natural Theology. By Thomas Q. Fleming. 4. Authority, or a Plain Reason for joining the Church of Rome. By Luke Rivington, M.A. 5. Vie du Père Dom Jean Sallier. Par Dom Victor Marie Doreau. 6. A Romance of the Recusants. By the Author of the *Life of a Prie*, &c. 7. Psychology. By G. Lahousse, S.J. 8. Essays on Various Subjects. By Cardinal Wiseman. 9. "The Old House by the Boyne." By Mrs. J. Sadlier.

577

LITERARY RECORD 588

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- II.—Magazines.

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The recent Encyclical on Liberty.

WE are not going to attempt any sort of exposition of the Encyclical which Leo the Thirteenth has recently issued on the subject of Human Liberty. To explain and illustrate it as it deserves would require a long commentary, not an article in a magazine. All that we propose on the present occasion is to direct our readers' attention to one or two of the salient points both in the general drift and character of its teaching, and in the individual truths that it specially inculcates.

When we compare it with the writings of non-Catholics on the same subject, we find it in very marked contrast to them. Its clear, simple, decisive, sharply-cut definiteness and consistency is opposed to their wavering inconstancy, its constructive wisdom to their destructive unwisdom. There is no hesitation about it, none of that uncertainty and vagueness which characterizes those who have no light from Heaven to guide their wandering pens. Everywhere it is full of well-grounded confidence, as befits the utterances of one who is the supreme lawgiver of the Christian world. This note of truth rings from the beginning to the end of it. No one can read it and say that they cannot make out what the Pope means. It is so positive from first to last—not with the positiveness of the self-appointed oracle, who only veils his weakness by crowning his ill-founded theories with still more ill-founded assurance, but with the positiveness of one who has a right to speak positively, with the security of one who knows that his feet are upon the rock, with the certitude of one who has grounds for certitude that he knows to be absolutely unassailable.

To understand this fully, the whole of the Encyclical must be carefully read; to quote a sentence here and there is rather like producing a brick to show the character of the house. We will nevertheless venture to select a few paragraphs since they will at least give some faint idea of the beautiful definiteness and clearness of the whole.

We will begin with the admirable description of what liberty is and what it is not.

Therefore the true liberty of human society does not consist in every man's doing what he pleases, for this would simply end in turmoil and confusion and the overthrow of the State ; but rather in this, that through the directions of the civil law he may more easily conform to the prescriptions of the eternal law. Likewise the liberty of those who are in authority does not consist in the power to lay unreasonable and capricious commands upon their subjects, which would moreover be criminal and would lead to the ruin of the commonwealth ; but the binding force of human laws is in this, that they are to be regarded as applications of the eternal law, and incapable of sanctioning anything which is not contained in that law, as in the principle of all law. . . .

Therefore, the nature of human liberty, however it be considered, whether in individuals, or in society, whether in those who command or in those who obey, supposes the necessity of obedience to some supreme and eternal law, which is no other than the authority of God, commanding good and forbidding evil. And, so far from this most equitable authority of God over men diminishing or destroying their liberty, it protects it and perfects it ; for the prosecution and attainment of their respective ends are the real perfection of all creatures ; and the supreme end to which human liberty can aspire is God.¹

The nature of human liberty involves obedience to God's authority ; the end of human liberty and the perfection of human nature is God. If only this truth, thus distinctly and fearlessly proclaimed by the Supreme Teacher of the whole Christian world, were recognized by the philosophers and philosophizers of the present day, we should have none of the wild theories, the vague, unsettled, self-contradictory compromises by which they seek to counteract the mischief of their own teaching, and to check the licence which they themselves have let loose by their own godless doctrines.

¹ "Igitur in hominum societate libertas veri nominis non est in eo posita ut agas quod lubet, ex quo vel maxima existeret turba et confusio in oppressionem civitatis evasura, sed in hoc, ut per leges civiles expeditius possis secundum legis aeternae prescripta vivere. Eorum vero qui presunt non in eo sita libertas est, ut imperare temere et ad libidinem queant, quod pariter flagitosum esset et cum summa etiam reipublicae pernicie conjunctum, sed humanarum vis legum haec debet esse, ut ab aeterna lege manare intelligantur, nec quidquam sancire quod non in ea, veluti in principio universi juris, contineatur. . . . Natura igitur libertatis humanae, quocumque in genere consideretur, tam in personis singulis quam in consociatis, nec minus in iis qui imperant quam in iis qui parent, necessitatem complectitur obtemperandi summam cuidam aeternaeque rationi, qua nihil est aliud nisi auctoritas jubentis, vetantis Dei. Atque hoc justissimum in homines imperium Dei tantum abest ut libertatem tollat aut ullo modo dominat, ut potius tueatur ac perficiat. Suum quippe finem consecrari et assequi, omnium naturarum est vera perfectio : supremus autem finis, quo libertas aspirare debet humana, Deus est."

One of the false prophets of the present day has written expressly on the very subject with which the Holy Father has dealt in his present Encyclical. It is instructive to set Leo the Thirteenth and Mr. Mill side by side, and contrast the unswerving dogmatism of the one with the temporizing uncertainty of the other. Mr. Mill in his *Essay on Liberty* displays no fixity of principle on fundamental questions. He avoids all definiteness of statement, save when he is doing the work of destruction. His aim appears to confuse the mind of his readers by a skilful mingling of the true and the false, to suggest false conclusions without overtly stating them. When he speaks plainly and without reserve, it is that he may lay down some false principle subversive of the very foundation of true liberty. After telling his readers that human liberty demands liberty of conscience in the most comprehensive sense: liberty of thought and feeling, absolute freedom of opinion on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological; liberty of expressing and publishing opinions; liberty of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow, without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them, he continues :

No society in which these liberties are not, on the whole, respected, is free, whatever may be its form of government; and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified. The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether bodily, or mental and spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest (pp. 7, 8).

Here we have Mr. Mill's theory of liberty. It is the advocacy not of liberty but of licence, the heartless, pagan creed of one who accuses religion of "having almost always been governed by the ambition of a hierarchy, seeking control over every department of human conduct, or else by the spirit of Puritanism"²—the creed that excuses itself for its selfishness by saying that it is the best plan to leave others to go to rack and ruin if they please, so long as their conduct does not do injury to those around—the creed of one who is all the more dangerous enemy of Christian liberty because he patronizes Christianity with

² *Mill on Liberty*, pp 29, 30.

a qualified approval, and maintains that there are important elements of morality which are omitted in the Christian ethics, and that other than Christian ethics must exist side by side with them to produce the moral regeneration of mankind.

To all such mischievous errors of modern theorists the present Encyclical affords a magnificent antidote. The Holy Father lays his finger one by one on the leading topics, on which the false apostles of licence and revolution have enounced down false and misleading principles, and on each of these proclaims the true and Catholic doctrine in opposition to them. Of these we shall have to say a word presently more in detail.

In close connection with the precision of statement of this important utterance is its wonderful balance. It is written with the judicial impartiality of one who has examined and understands the question from its every aspect. There is no trace in it of the narrow enthusiasm of those weaker intellects whose grasp of truth seems to engender in them a want of appreciation of the plausibility of error. There is nothing that the most carping critic could call political partisanship or bigotry; nothing that the unbiased reader even among Protestants will pronounce to be one-sided or unfair. Yet the subject of which it treats is one of the most difficult in the world. Where liberty ends and licence begins is one of those mysteries which no common sense will solve, no human wisdom determine, unless there be added to it a special grace from God to see and expound the truth.

The Catholic Church has often been accused of seeking to crush out liberty. She has been accused of fostering despotism and of not recognizing the rights of individual men. There has been from time to time some sort of excuse for the charge, owing to the extravagance of statement on the part of individual Catholic writers and the mistaken partisanship of Catholic statesmen in behalf of a dethroned dynasty or of oppressive rule. But against Leo the Thirteenth no one can lay such a charge as this with any semblance of truth. The present Encyclical, which will be for all time to come the text-book of Catholic politics, has silenced for ever the oft-repeated accusation. No one can henceforth reproach the Church, speaking through her supreme Pastor, with being the friend of absolutism and of tyranny against the oppressed. The Vicar of Christ, sitting high above the strife of contending factions and disputed questions respecting the best form of government, approves all forms of government that are fitted for the welfare of the

subject, and asserts that there is nothing in itself opposed to the duty of a Catholic in desiring a democratic Constitution and popular rule. American self-government finds itself equally favoured by Rome with the hereditary rule of European states. But we must quote the Pope's own words :

It is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and use of power. Of the various forms of government, the Church does not reject any that are fitted for the welfare of the subject; she wishes only—and this nature itself requires—that they should be constituted without wrong to any one, and especially without violating the rights of the Church.³

Yet, on the other hand, nothing can be more outspoken or clear than the Pope's condemnation of the modern heresy that the origin of the power of the State is from the people only, that the majority are supreme, and the source of all law and authority. All this is opposed to reason, it destroys the bond that unites civil society to God. It is most destructive alike to individuals and states. The law respecting right and wrong is at the mercy of a majority, and this leads direct to tyranny.

For, once granted that man is firmly persuaded of his own supremacy, it follows that the efficient cause of the unity of civil society is to be sought, not in any principle exterior or superior to man, but simply in the free will of individuals; that the power of the State is from the people only ; and that, just as every man's individual reason is his only rule of life, so the collective reason of the community should be the supreme guide in the management of all public affairs. Hence the doctrine of the supremacy of the majority, and that the majority is the source of all law and authority.⁴

We are warned against all this as being in contradiction with reason, as reversing the due order of things, and dissolving the

³ "Atque etiam malle reipublicæ statum populari temperatum genere, non est per se contra officium, salva tamen doctrina catholica de ortu atque administratione publicæ potestatis. Ex variis reipublicæ generibus, modo sint ad consulendum utilitati civium per se idonea, nullam quidem Ecclesia respuit; singula tamen vult, quoad plane idem natura jubet, sine injuria cuiusquam, maximeque integris Ecclesia juribus, esse constituta."

⁴ "Hoc enim fixo et persuaso, homini antistare neminem, consequitur caussam efficientem conciliations civilis et societatis non in principio aliquo extra aut supra hominem posito, sed in libera voluntate singulorum esse querendam: potestatem publicam a multitudine velut a primo fonte repetendam, praetereaque, sicut ratio singulorum sola dux et norma agendi privatim est singulis, ita universorum esse opportere universis in rerum genere publicarum. Hinc plurimum posse plurimos: partemque populi majorem universi juris esse officiique effectricem."

bond which unites man to God. It is therefore opposed to the very nature of all created things: it severs effect from cause, and destroys the due subordination of the inferior to the superior.

But, besides this, a doctrine of this character is most hurtful both to individuals and to the State. For, once ascribe to human reason the only authority to decide what is true and what is good, and the real distinction between good and evil is destroyed; honour and dishonour become a matter of private opinion. . . . The law determining right and wrong is at the mercy of a majority—which is simply a downward path to tyranny.⁵

Who will not think of the French Commune and of the Rule of Terror as he reads these words?

Yet the rights of individuals are not forgotten. The nation struggling for its freedom against the oppressors is sanctioned by the Church in its longing after liberty, so long as no violation of charity or justice is admitted among the weapons which it employs against the foe.

Neither does the Church condemn those who, if it can be done without violation of justice, wish to make their country independent of any foreign or despotic power. Nor does she blame those who wish to give to the State the power of self-government, and to its citizens the greatest possible measure of prosperity. So long as it is without licence, the Church has always fostered civil liberty, and this was seen especially in Italy in the municipal prosperity, and wealth, and glory, which were obtained at a time when the salutary power of the Church had, without opposition, spread to all parts of the State. . . .

Whenever there exists or there is reason to fear, either an unjust oppression of the people, or a deprivation of the Church's liberty, it is lawful to seek for such a change of government as will give due liberty of action. In such a case it is not an excessive and vicious liberty that is sought for; but only some relief, for the common welfare, in order that, amidst the licence for evil, the power of doing good may not be hindered.⁶

⁵ "Præterea est hujusmodi doctrina tum privatis hominibus cum civitatibus maxime perniciosa. Sane rejecto ad humanam rationem et solam et unam veri bonique arbitrio, proprium tollitur boni et mali discrimen; turpia ab honestis non re, sed opinione judicioque singulorum differunt. Lex, de iis que facienda fugiendave sunt statuens, majoris multitudinis permittitur arbitrio, quod quidem est iter ad tyrannicam dominacionem proclive."

⁶ "Neque illud Ecclesia damnat, velle gentem suam nemini servire nec externo, nec domino, si modo fieri, incolumi justitia, queat. Denique nec eos reprehendit qui efficiere volunt, ut civitates suis legibus vivant, civesque quam maxima augendorum commodorum facultate donentur. Civicarum sine intemperantia libertatum semper esse Ecclesia faatrix fidelissima consuevit. . . . Ubi dominatus premat aut impendeat

Closely akin to this judicial impartiality and fairness is the exceeding moderation of the present Encyclical. There is nothing of the enthusiast in the tone which characterizes it throughout. There is the calm unprejudiced language of one who speaks with authority. No reckless denunciation of opponents, none of those unfair suggestions and innuendoes which so often characterize the utterances of those who seek to defend outside the Church what they regard as orthodoxy. He who speaks from the assured position of infallible Truth can afford to be generous. He whose cause has no weak points to conceal has no need to adopt the policy of abusing those opposed to him as a means of defending and strengthening his own position. One who lives in a shot-proof tower can afford to allow his enemies to come up to it and walk all round it, and examine it with the minutest care, knowing that all their missiles will be in vain. He has no need to search for weapons to drive them far away lest perchance they should find out some vulnerable side in his panoply. The Holy Father, in the absolute certainty that he possesses of having Truth on his side, is content to leave error to confute itself, merely pointing out the fatal results that follow from it. Thus, for instance, in treating of *liberty of speech*, he simply states its consequences when it becomes unbridled licence.

The excesses of an unbridled intellect, which really end in the oppression of the ignorant multitude, are not less rightly restrained by the authority of the law than are the injuries inflicted by force upon the weak; and even more so, because by far the greater part of the community either absolutely cannot, or can only with great difficulty, avoid their illusions and subtleties, especially such as flatter their own passions. If unbridled licence of speech and of writing be granted to all, nothing will remain sacred and inviolate; even the highest and truest judgments of nature, the common and noblest heritage of the human race, will not be spared. Thus, truth being obscured by darkness, pernicious and manifold error, as often happens, will easily prevail, and licence will gain what liberty loses; for liberty will be more free and secure, in proportion as licence is more restrained.⁷

ejusmodi, qui oppressam injusta vi teneat civitatem, vel carere Ecclesiam cogat libertate debita, fas est aliam querere temperationem reipublicæ, in qua agere cum libertate concessum sit: tunc enim non illa expetitur immodica et vitiosa libertas, sed sublevatio aliqua, salutis omnium causâ, queritur, et hoc unice agitur ut, ubi rerum malorum licentia tribuitur, ibi potestas honeste faciendi ne impediatur."

⁷ "Peccata licentis ingenii, quæ sane in oppressionem cadunt multitudinis im-
peritæ, rectum est auctoritate legum non minus coerceri, quam illatas per vim

The sketch of the various kinds and degrees of Liberalism is as masterly as it is moderate. One might have thought that the Holy Father had Mill in view when he says that Liberals there are who say that each should be a law to himself : that there should be no religion professed publicly (*consentaneum est nullam publice esse Religionem*), that there are other Liberals of milder kidney who say that private individuals indeed should direct their lives according to the Divine law, and that in State matters no such obligation exists, but that the State should exhibit supreme indifference (*incuria maxima*) ; forgetting that God is the Author of civil society, as well as of the individual, and that therefore reason forbids a godless state (*civitatem ratio vetat atheam esse*).

We must pass over the larger part of the Encyclical to say a word on the later portion, in which the Holy Father explains the Catholic doctrine on *liberty of worship*, *liberty of speech*, *liberty of teaching*, *liberty of conscience*. As to the first, a State can justly recognize one religion and one only. It is true that the proximate end of the State is the temporal welfare of its citizens ; still its duty is not to diminish, but to increase the facilities offered to them of attaining that supreme ultimate good in which true and lasting happiness consists ; and to this none can arrive if religion be ignored.

Those who say that no one religion should be preferred to another could only be right if the community as such had no duty to God. To treat all religions alike and to give equal rights to all comes in the end to nothing else than godlessness.

Liberty of speech is not a liberty to utter alike the true and false, that which is of good and that which is of evil report, since falsity and vice alike must be quelled by authority, if the State is to protect its citizens from their wretched consequences.

Liberty of teaching may be similarly judged. Truth alone can perfect the intelligence, and therefore those who rule are bound to hinder the presence of that which hinders its per-

imbecillioribus injuriis. Eo magis quod civium pars longe maxima præstigias cavere captionesque dialecticas, presertim quæ blandiuntur cupiditatibus, aut non possunt omnino, aut sine summa difficultate non possunt. Permissa cuilibet loquendi scribendique infinita licentia, nihil est sanctum inviolatumque permansurum : ne illis quidem paretur maximis verissimumque naturæ judicis, quæ habenda sunt velut commune idemque nobilissimum humani generis patrimonium. Sic sensim obducta tenebris veritate, id quod saepè contingit, facile dominabitur opinionum error perniciosus et multiplex. Qua ex re tantam capiet licentia commodi, quantum detimenti libertas ac tutior, quo frena licentiae majora."

fection. Natural truths form the common patrimony of the human race ; it is therefore unjust and cruel to permit that this patrimony be despoiled. Many supernatural truths can be proved by reason, and it was the will of God who revealed these that they should be taught under the sanction of public authority, for the perfection and preservation of true liberty, according to His words, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Lastly, *liberty of conscience*, if it is to mean that all can worship God or not as he pleases and how he pleases, is quite inconsistent with the duty of the State. But if, on the other hand, liberty of conscience is the power of following out, from a sense of duty, without let or hindrance, the will and commands of God, this is indeed the true liberty of the sons of God, who is the guardian of true liberty, and is the object of the Church's continual affection and desire. This liberty the Apostles preached and the martyrs sealed with their blood. This liberty has nothing in common with sedition or disobedience ; it only bids the Catholic to refuse obedience where the laws of the State clash with those of God.

We have necessarily touched only on a few points in this most important utterance of the Doctor and Pastor of the Christian world. We are compelled to pass over what is said respecting tolerance, the separation of Church and State, and the folly of that minimizing temper which seeks to cut down and narrow the authority and power of the Church, and to treat it as nothing else than one of the voluntary associations of the citizens of the State.

We will conclude with one short quotation regarding the theory that the Church ought to accommodate herself to modern ideas.

There remain those who, while they do not approve the separation of Church and State, think nevertheless that the Church ought to adapt herself to the time, and to conform to what is desired by the modern system of government. Such an opinion is sound, if it is to be understood of an adaptation that is consistent with truth and justice ; in so far, namely, that the Church, in the hope of some great good, may show herself indulgent, and may conform to the times in whatever her sacred office permits. But it is not so in regard to practices and doctrines which a perversion of morals and a false judgment have unlawfully introduced. Religion, truth, and justice, must ever be maintained ; and, as God has entrusted these great and sacred things to the care of

the Church, she can never be so unfaithful to her office as to dissemble in what is false or unjust, or to connive at what is hurtful to religion.⁸

We hope that our readers will study this Encyclical for themselves, and that jurist and theologian may annotate for the benefit of the faithful its pregnant teaching.

R. F. C.

⁸ "Multi denique rei sacræ a re civili distractionem non probant; sed tamen faciendum censem, ut Ecclesia obsequatur tempori, et flectat se atque accommodet ad ea, quæ in administrandis imperiis hodierna prudentia desiderat. Quorum est honesta sententia, si de quadam intelligatur æqua ratione, quæ consistere cum veritate justitiaque possit; nimirum ut, explorata spe magni alicujus boni, indulgentem Ecclesia sese impertiat, idque temporibus largiatur, quod salva officii sanctitate potest.—Verum secus est de rebus ac doctrinis, quas demutatio morum ac fallax judicium contra fas invexerint. Nullum tempus vacare religione, veritate, justitia potest: quas res maximas et sanctissimas cum Deus in tutela Ecclesie esse jusserit, nihil est tam alienum quam velle, ut ipsa quod vel falsum est vel injustum dissimulanter ferat, aut in iis quæ sunt religioni noxia conniveat."

The Second Summer.

THE Second Spring was announced in England, near half a century ago, by a commanding voice, the echoes of whose burning eloquence have not yet died away. They still vibrate, and freshly, in the hearts of Catholics. Not in England only, but wherever her tongue is known, the thought is a familiar one, that "the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers have appeared in our land;" and the hope is a firmly fixed one, that this spring contains a promise of better things which shall not come to naught. We may in fact go further. The belief that England is destined by God's mercy to return to the unity of her ancient Faith—at least with such relative unanimity as free thought can admit of—is throughout the Catholic Church so common, so persistent, and so deeply rooted as almost to carry with it the evidence of its truth.

We purpose to show that one principal and solid ground for this expectation is to be found in the revelations made to persons of assured sanctity, some of which if taken singly carry with them considerable weight, but all of which taken together appear nearly irresistible.

The present time seems especially to call for an investigation into this matter. We are not going over the well-worn ground of recounting the victories that have been already won, and the trophies captured, since the Restoration of 1850. There are, however, some circumstances in the present position of affairs which ought to raise our hopes. The spread of knowledge about the real nature of the Reformation, and the attitude of the nation and its chiefs towards our Holy Father and ourselves; the zeal of Catholics in making a serious effort to meet the demand for popular and cheap Catholic literature; but, above all, the action of the Holy See in recognizing the claims of our Martyrs to veneration, these and other lesser indications give us reason to hope that soon we may do what we have never

done yet—begin to make an impression on the people at large.

On the other hand, the gigantic nature of the task before us, and our utter lack of suitable equipment for it; the indifference of Protestants to Divine Truth, and the pertinacity of Ritualists in clinging to a mere shadow; various disagreements among Catholics, and the leakage from the Church that has hitherto gone on unchecked, are sore trials to the faith of many. Our kind friends do not forget to tell us of our difficulties,¹ and there is a tendency towards pessimism among Catholics which cannot but injure our cause. We want prayer and work, and neither one nor the other is very likely to come of despondency.

Now, it may be objected to our plan, What is the use of collecting prophecies in order to establish courage? Are they not all uncertain generally as to their existence and their truth, but always as to their meaning? We reply, that although these things are not matters of faith for us, yet it is easy to be oversceptical about them. There is a Spirit of Prophecy in the Church, and if so, why should they not be of use in some cases, even before their complete fulfilment? On the other hand, is it not a subject worthy of revelation, supposing it to be a truth, that the English people shall hereafter return, at least in great part, to their old love? Then the uncertainty as to the true meaning of genuine prophecies is, we believe, more often as to matters of lesser importance, as dates and such-like details, rather than as to big facts which are in themselves unmistakeable. This distinction is often lost sight of, which explains to some extent a too common prejudice against prophecies.

With this introduction we will allow our collection, which is probably far from complete, to speak for itself.

I. We shall commence with the prophecy of St. Edward the Confessor, not because it is the most convincing, but because it is the oldest and most famous of all those that concern us. The prophecy and its circumstances, as told by St. Ælred,² are

¹ See an article in the *Quarterly Review* for last January, generally attributed to Dr. Littledale.

² See Migne, cxcv. p. 739. St. Ælred died in 1166, and therefore must have written the Life of the Confessor within the hundred years following his death. Although the Bollandists speak doubtfully as to the authenticity of this Life, without however giving any reason (see *Acta SS.* Jan. 5, St. Edward, § i. n. 3, and Jan. 12, St. Ælred, n. 10, nota b), we cannot see any grounds for their hesitation. They admit that St. Ælred really wrote a Life of the Confessor, and to say nothing of the

indeed striking. St. Edward was on his death-bed, and having been in a state of coma for the space of two days, suddenly opened his eyes, and sitting up prayed aloud for strength to relate for the benefit of his people what he had seen, if it was "a revelation from the light of Truth." He at once gained strength visibly, and related that he had seen two young men whom he had known intimately and loved in Normandy, and who had preceded him to Heaven. They told him that the sins of the English, and especially of their faithless priests and princes, had called down the anger and indignation of God, and that for the space of a year and a day the country would be delivered to evil spirits to be punished with fire and the sword. He then asked, Was there no room for penance, as had been granted even to the men of Nineve? By no means, they answer, because the heart of the people is hardened, their eyes blinded, and their ears heavy, that they will neither be terrified by threats nor moved by benefits. "Will then God be angry for ever?" asked the King. "Is there no remedy to be hoped for to these evils, that so a promise of mercy may in some way console our wretchedness?"

"The saints propose to me," he continues, "the following problem: *A certain green tree, cut off from its trunk, is separated*

intrinsic merit of this one, and the air of truthful humility which marks its dedication to the Abbot of Westminster, the most critical English authors have not thrown the slightest doubt upon its genuineness. The Editor of the *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, in the Rolls Series, takes it for granted, and follows the Preface of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, where it is stated (p. 16) that Ælred followed closely Osbern, Prior of Westminster, who had also written a Life of St. Edward some years before. And the close similarity with Osbern's Life, as is proved by a comparison with a MS. of the thirteenth century, existing in C.C.C. Cambridge, and which is said to be *abbreviata ex tractatu Osberni Westm. Prioris*, is an additional argument for the genuineness of the Life attributed to St. Ælred. (see *Lives E.C.* Preface, p. xxv.) Again, William of Malmesbury, in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (l. ii. § 226), which was written about 1120, gives substantially the same account of the death and prophecy of the King. Especially he mentions *the year and the day* of sorrow. His description is however somewhat shorter, as is natural, considering the nature of his work. There is, however, a yet older account, which seems to have been followed by Osbern and St. Ælred. It is the last of the lives in the volume of the Rolls Series, and was certainly written before 1074, or eight years after the King's death, as it is formally dedicated to Queen Edith, who died in that year. It gives the prophecy in the following words: *Tunc, si arbor viridis a medio sui succidatur corpore, et pars abscissa trium jugerum spatio a suo deportetur stipite, cum per se et absque humana manu vel quovis amminiculo, suo connectetur trunco, cuperitque denuo vivescere et fructificare ex coalescentis sui amore pristino, tunc primum tantorum malorum sperari poterit remissio.* The other Lives given in the volume, one of the reign of Henry the Third in French couplets, the other of the reign of Henry the Sixth in Latin hexameters, closely follow the account of St. Ælred.

to the distance of three acres from its parent stock ; and when, without any hand of man compelling or any necessity urging, it shall return to its own trunk and fix itself in its ancient stock, and recovering its sap shall again flourish and bring forth fruit : then some comfort is to be hoped for in this tribulation, and a remedy for the sufferings which we have foretold. After saying this, they returned to Heaven, as I do to you."

The Queen Edith, Harold, and others who were present, were much terrified at these words—all except the impious Stigand, who laughed and declared that Edward was in delirium. So far St. Ælred.

Now with regard to the fact of the prediction so recorded, there can be, we assert, no reasonable doubt. And its internal marks certainly favour the belief that it was a Divine announcement. Both the person who made it, the occasion on which it was made, the circumstance of supernatural strength to make it which followed the prayer of the dying Saint, and the effect which it certainly had, not only on the bystanders, but for centuries on the nation at large, all favour the conclusion that it was a genuine prophecy.

But with respect to its interpretation, we are in a very different position. Does it in any way refer to England's apostacy from and return to her ancient religion ? No doubt there is a very wide-spread and reasonable impression among Catholics that it does. There is too a sort of fitness in such a reference being put into the mouth of that English Saint whose memory was to remain so fresh in the mind of the nation, and whose relics were alone to be undoubtedly left in peace during the ages of turmoil and impiety.

On the other hand, there is no indication that either St. Edward or his hearers understood the prophecy as referring to anything beyond the sins of the time, and the troubles which immediately succeeded the death of the King. And St. Ælred in particular thought he saw a complete fulfilment of the last part, in the voluntary union of the Norman kings with the ancient royal family, in the person of Henry the First, after the three alien reigns of Harold, William the First, and William the Second.

We cannot deny the plausibility of this view, which seems to give a very fair interpretation of the prophecy. Still there are, it seems, some reasons which weaken its force. In the first place, St. Ælred himself seems very doubtful as to such a

solemn and even terrible prophecy leading to such a simple conclusion. He urges his view rather against those who, like William of Malmesbury,⁴ thought it impossible that a tree could move of its own accord, and that therefore the true meaning of the prediction is that the miseries will last for ever. St. Ælred supports his view by a similar promise unconditionally made by St. Dunstan.⁵ He says explicitly if his view does not please the reader, "let him give another, or wait for another time."

Secondly, those who came after St. Ælred, notably, the writer of the Life in hexameters referred to above, were unsatisfied with the fulfilment suggested hitherto,⁶ though on the other hand others adopted and even amplified the interpretation.

Lastly, the period of a year and a day seems to have some mystical meaning attaching to it. It may possibly mean 366 or 367 years. Some indeed have thought the three acres mean three centuries. It seems therefore, on the whole, reasonable to refer the prophecy either exclusively or in part to our times.

II. We now relate a prediction that has met with some attention lately, made by another Englishman, a Benedictine monk of Glastonbury, by name Austin Ringwood. For long years after the suppression, he lived in the neighbourhood of the old monastery, to which he felt too much attached to leave it, and dying in 1587, was buried near his beloved home. He had a great reputation for sanctity, having spent his time in retirement, fasting, and prayer. He had been under Father Bridgewater's direction, and towards the end of his life was favoured with consoling visions relating to the future. Once he was smitten with the plague, and to those who visited him in his sickness, he made a most curious prophecy. He said "that many great troubles would fall on the people, that for their sins a bloody war would overtake them, and their lands would be long untilled, but that nevertheless *the abbey would be*

⁴ "Hujus ergo veritatem vaticinii experimur quod . . . nullus hodie Anglus vel dux vel pontifex vel abbas, *nec ulla spes est finiendæ misericordiæ*." (I. c. § 227.)

⁵ The words of St. Dunstan to which he seems to refer, and which were also uttered on his death-bed, are: "Prædico etiam vobis Anglorum gentem dira ac diuturna mala ab exteris gentibus esse passuram, sed *in fine dierum miserationem Dei super eam stillaturam.*" (*Vita Sti. Dunst., auctore Osberto Cantuar. monacho.* Migne, cxxxvii. 453.) Perhaps some might read also in these words, *in fine dierum*, a reference to the present time. Certainly they can hardly tell against the view we are advocating.

⁶ Ll. 456 - 462.

one day rebuilt for the worship which had ceased, and that then peace and plenty would for long time abound."

An account of the prophecy was published just after the Civil War, in a tract entitled, *A true relation of Master Austin Ringwoode*, London, 1652.⁷ It may be thought that a prophecy of the war is of little value after the event, but there must have been many people then alive whose parents had known the holy monk. In any case, the last part of the prophecy must have seemed most unlikely then; though now, as Dr. Lee justly remarks, "The restoration of Glastonbury Abbey is by no means so improbable as our forefathers may have supposed." There is indeed an apparent want of connection between the events of the Civil War and the present time; but the difficulty vanishes if we consider the love of Ringwoode for Glastonbury, and his great need of Divine consolation.⁸

III. We now come to the most interesting prophecy of Father Julius Mancinelli, S.J. This extraordinary man, one of the glories of the Society of Jesus, in which he lived for sixty-eight years, was an Italian, born in the year 1537. His zeal carried him as missioner through a great part of Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Dalmatia, and Turkey. In Constantinople such was his success that he prevailed on the patriarchs of that see and of Antioch, and thirteen Greek metropolitans, either to send an ambassador to Rome to profess their obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, or to sign a promise to go to Rome and throw themselves at his feet.⁹ He also went to Asia Minor, and to Algeria twice. He died at Naples in 1618, and the whole city attended his funeral. His cause was commenced before the Cardinal Archbishop, but was suspended owing to the decree of Urban the Eighth. In his Life¹⁰ we are told that his

⁷ See *The Church under Queen Elizabeth*. By Dr. Lee, vol. ii. p. 101. The tract is to be found, we understand, in the British Museum.

⁸ We give below some other less important prophecies made in England about the time of the Reformation. For the rest, all our instances come from foreign countries, a circumstance which seems to give them additional force.

⁹ These negotiations were broken off owing to the death of Gregory the Thirteenth in 1585.

¹⁰ Written by Father Cellesi, in 1668, and translated into Latin by Father Simon Mair, in 1677. Father Cellesi in his Preface declares that the Life is based on the personal memoirs of Father Mancinelli, which he wrote with great reluctance owing to the orders of superiors; also on diaries written by others, but corrected by his own hand, and on the Process of Canonization above referred to. He declares, moreover, that owing to Father Mancinelli's written request, his own words have been adhered to as far as possible without change or amplification.

austerities were extreme, that he never knowingly broke the slightest rule, that in the confessional he had the gift of tongues, and that the Blessed Virgin once placed in his arms her Divine Infant.

For thirty years¹¹ Father Mancinelli had never omitted a single day to pray for God's mercy on behalf of England, when, in the year 1608,¹² Father Philip Beaumont¹³ implored him to beg of God that He would intimate the future of that country and the issue of the persecution then raging against the Catholics. At first he said it was a matter he could not venture on, but moved by the Englishman's entreaties, he said, "For your sake I will venture as far as I think lawful, and I will pray at any rate that I may know how far it is conformable to God's will to ask for such a revelation." Having spent many days in prayer, fasting, and other austerities, he felt moved by God to inquire into the future of the English Church. The sequel we give in the holy Father's own words :

A young man clad in white array appeared before him, and he by frequent experience of such visions deemed it to be an angel. This angel then showed unto the Father a certain representation, as it were, of the last judgment. For the ground trembled, contrary winds met, hideous storms, tumults, flights, wars, and extreme afflictions tempestuously stormed one against another, and with their boisterous conflicts involved men violently thrust here and there. . . . He saw all the inhabitants of the nation with fear gathered together, and trembling prostrate themselves on the ground, implore the mercy of God, and crave pardon of their sins of which they acknowledge themselves very guilty. After these things which did befall them on account of the most grievous sins of their King and Council, he said that a cruel and most crafty persecution of Catholics happened : *at last God being pacified, would make choice of that kingdom to do wonderful things for the exaltation of the Catholic faith against Turks and Pagans, and He would farther it with His most special assistance that will fill the whole world*

¹¹ So he stated in the document printed in Latin, in 1608, after the *Annual Letters of the English Mission*. A translation is given in Brother Foley's Addenda, p. 992, from which the above details are taken.

¹² Printed in Brother Foley, 1605. This is probably a mistake ; see below.

¹³ This was Father Oswald Tesimond (also known as Greenway). He died in Naples in 1635, and was an intimate friend of Father Mancinelli. He entered the Society in 1584, and after being on the English Mission since 1597, he was one of the three specially charged with taking part in the Gunpowder Plot. He narrowly escaped to the continent, in a provision boat bound for Calais, and never returned to England. See More, *Hist. Prov. Ang.*, lib. vii. n. xl. p. 337. His *Autobiography*, relating his landing in England, is given by Father Morris in the first series of *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*.

with admiration, whence it will come to pass that many nations and peoples will come to congratulate England, as heretofore it happened to Jerusalem and Rome; which things will be granted to that nation on account of the merits and graciousness in the sight of God of so many great and illustrious saints of that kingdom.”¹⁴

IV. Our next witness is the Ven. Marina de Escobar. We may be very brief in noticing the life of this holy virgin, as we can give one fact which speaks volumes. The Ven. Luis da Ponte, S.J., one of the greatest authorities in the Church on the spiritual life, was her confessor for thirty years, and writing her life,¹⁵ did not shrink from classing her with St. Teresa and St. Catherine of Siena. We will add that she was the daughter of a lawyer of Valladolid, where she was born in 1554, and died in 1633, during an ecstasy. She was the foundress of the Reform of the Bridgettine nuns known as Recollects, though she never wore the habit herself, and her Rule was approved by Urban the Eighth. All the people of the city attended her funeral. She had visions and other supernatural favours commonly, but being directed by her confessor to attend to solid virtue, she took no particular complacency in them. However, being directed to put them down for the good of others, she obeyed, and her narrative is added to Father da Ponte’s Life, from which we take the following from the Spanish :¹⁶

In September, 1618, on another day, the Lord called me by my name, and said to me, “Do you hear, My dear child?” I replied, “Yes, Lord.” “Do you wish to go with Me wherever I will take you?” I said again, “Yes, Lord.” He then united Himself with me in a most admirable manner, and took me to a place where He showed me the whole world very clearly, and the provinces where the faith is wanting. He asked me which of these provinces I wished that He would convert to the faith. I said, “All, Lord; I wish them to know you and to love you.” The Lord said, “That is not agreeable to My Justice, say which

¹⁴ From an account in Latin, translated word for word by Father Beaumont from Father Mancinelli’s Italian. There is a copy in MS., preserved in the Stonyhurst collection, which states that the date of the prophecy was July 11, 1608, and that of the Latin version January 21, 1629, and that it was translated by Father Beaumont. There is also an English translation of ancient date, which we have followed in the text.

¹⁵ See *Vida Maravillosa de la Ven. Virgen Dña Marina de Escobar, &c.*, in the *Introducción a la primera parte*. Father da Ponte died in 1624, and his work having been continued by his successor in the care of the Saint, was published after her death by Father Cachupin, Provincial of Castile, in 1665. A second edition of Father da Ponte’s part was published in two volumes, in Madrid, in 1766; from which our extract is taken.

¹⁶ Vol. i. lib. v. cap. 10, § iii.

of them you wish." Then my eyes turned towards France, but yet I wished for England, and I said, "Señor, Inglaterra." The Lord said, "That province has not dispositions for it," giving me to understand its great ruin and that of the King who is still alive, "*but nevertheless it will take place, only not in this age, but in another.*" I complained to His Majesty that He often spoke to me so, and He answered, "that it is fitting that I should not see all the things which His Majesty tells me of, but that I should see other things, and that what He had said about England would happen—that *it would convert itself to the Lord in future times, not signifying when, but only that it would not be in the life of that King who was then reigning.*"

V. The next prophecy we have to consider is a very remarkable one, perhaps, all things considered, the most remarkable of all. It was made by the Ven. Bartholomew Holzhauser, who was born in Bavaria, in 1613, and, though he died at the age of forty-five, conferred the greatest and most lasting benefits on South Germany, by his Institute of the Secular Clergy living according to the Canons.¹⁷ He was the son of a village shoemaker, and had to live on alms while at school learning Latin, but afterwards, having begged his way to Neuburg, he was, owing to his piety and sweetness of disposition, gratuitously received by the Jesuits into their College, and educated by them for the Church. His connection with the Society did not end here, for when he went to learn theology at the University of Ingolstadt, he continued to live in the house of the Jesuit Fathers. During his student life, which fell upon the evil days of the Thirty Years' War, he understood that nothing but a reform of the clergy could save Catholicity from utter destruction at the hands of the Reformers, who were now seen at their worst. He was already remarkable for the reception of supernatural favours, and the idea of his Institute seems to have been divinely imparted to him. On receiving Holy Orders, he was, so he said, inspired to go to Salzburg to commence the work, and there being made Canon, in 1640, he started his first community. He had already attached to himself three parish priests of an advanced age, but who were allowed, after some delay, to join him in his arduous undertaking. The work soon spread, seminaries were commenced, and Holzhauser himself travelled from place to place. His Institute extended itself to Spain, Hungary, and Poland. He seems to have been singularly happy in meeting with the hearty concurrence of ecclesiastical authorities

¹⁷ Known also as the Bartholomites.

from the very beginning. Although the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars had declared, in 1647, that the work did not require any special confirmation, yet, twelve years after the founder's death, the Holy See saw fit to grant a solemn confirmation of the Institute on January 7, 1670.

Such a man predisposes us in favour of any solemn prediction which he may chance to make. To do such a work he must have been remarkable, not only for holiness, and that is abundantly proved to us by his biographers, but also for a special gift of prudence. But it seems to be very certain that he possessed the gift of prophecy in an extraordinary degree. He made many predictions of various events which, according to good authorities, turned out to be true; and, by the special request of his fellow-priests, and with the permission of his Bishop, he wrote a volume describing the visions with which he had been favoured. They related mostly to the errors and vices of the times, and in some cases seem to have been so obscure that he did not himself thoroughly comprehend their meaning. But his most wonderful and best known work is the Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John. Many theologians have written in the highest terms of it. It was not well known till the year 1784, when it was first printed in Latin; and in 1849 a translation appeared in Germany which created no small sensation. Cardinal Wiseman at that time wrote of it:¹⁸

There is an earnestness, an unction, a fulness and a depth of remark, which forcibly convince the reader that Holzhauser wrote according to an internal light, and that the same spirit which dictated St. John's mysterious book, had deigned to unseal it to his commentator.

And he remarks also that a learned theologian, after perusing the Commentary, candidly declared that, "After Holzhauser, all commentators on the Apocalypse appeared to him to have written like children."

The commentary extends only to the fifth verse of the fifteenth chapter. It was written when he was in retreat, and passing whole days without eating and drinking. He said, when questioned about it, "I was like a child, whose hand was led, while I wrote," and when asked why he did not finish the work, he declared that he did not feel animated by the same spirit, and that he could not continue it. Father Lyprand, S.J., a man

¹⁸ *Dublin Review*, September, 1850. We know on good authority that the article was generally attributed at the time to the Cardinal.

renowned for his learning, and a Professor at Ingolstadt when the holy man was student there, declares that he holds it extremely probable that Holzhauser had received the gift of prophecy, and that two of his fellow-professors, Father Simon and Father Peter Breier, who had both been Bartholomew's teachers, also pronounced in his favour.

Such is the man who, for no ostensible reason, had conceived a burning desire for the reconversion of England. We are told by his anonymous biographer, whose work¹⁹ was published at Bamberg and Wurtzburg in 1799, that

This was the marrow of his thoughts and the sum of his conversation. No resolution was so fixedly implanted in him as to go to England, and there, utterly regardless of any risk he might run for his life, make a beginning towards a restoration of the Catholic faith. . . . He was induced to defer for one or several years the execution of a project, which he would never entirely give up, in order in the first place by his presence to consolidate his rising Institute, until such time as his presence could more easily be dispensed with. (Translation, p. 69.)

Death prevented his design, but God rewarded his zeal with a knowledge of the future reconversion which he yearned for. Father Lyprand says that he himself was told by Holzhauser that "*the kingdom of England would return to the Roman Catholic faith, and the ENGLISH ACHIEVE MORE FOR THE CHURCH, THAN ON THEIR FIRST CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.*" Truly a magnificent promise ! May its accomplishment be hastened !

This prophecy seems to have been founded on a vision which he had seen, and afterwards written down, and which he related to Charles the Second when, near the end of his exile in 1658, he was sailing down the Rhine. The Elector Archbishop, who had the greatest confidence in, and veneration for, the man of God, spoke of him to the King, who had him brought to see him. Charles conversed with him for the space of an hour, during which Holzhauser recommended to him the Catholic religion and the priests who were labouring in his country, and the monarch gave him his hand, promising to be mindful of the request.

The following is the account of the vision, as given in the volume already mentioned :

¹⁹ Translated by Lewis Clarus, Ratisbon, 1849, and abbreviated by the editor of the *Interpretatio in Apocalypsin*, Vindobonæ, 1850.

I stood, in the year 1635, by the Danube, giving alms to the banished, and offering up prayers for the whole earth. I stood towards the north and the west, and my heart poured itself out in many lamentations before God, saying, “How long will the adversary hold this kingdom in bondage, which swimmeth with the blood of martyrs, spilled by that accursed woman, Jezabel, as she wished to reign in the Church of God?” And I heard at the same time that the lawful sacrifice would be intermitted for one hundred and twenty years.

He goes on to prophesy the Civil War—the land trembling as with an earthquake; the selling of the King; and finally his being struck by a large fiery ball, which flew oblique and smote him. Finally he says :

And lo! I saw a ship sailing on the sea, and arrive in port, and righteous and holy men who were in the ship landed, and they began to preach the Gospel in those countries. They prospered in their undertaking; and that land returned to peace and to the sanctification of Jesus Christ.

Now the authenticity of this account appears to be beyond all doubt. The vision was seen in 1635, before the Civil War had broken out, and written down in 1646, three years before the execution of the King. And the suspension of the Mass for just one hundred and twenty years²⁰ could not possibly have been foreseen in 1646. Therefore the fulfilment of the former part of the prophecy gives a strong presumption in favour of the truth of the latter part. All the biographers and editors of Holzhauser speak of it as one of the most exactly fulfilled of all his published prophecies. If any doubt occurs as to its referring to the partial and more proximate establishment of Catholicity under James the Second, we should answer : (1) The land in no way returned to peace and sanctification at that time; and (2) this interpretation in no way agrees with that of the holy priest himself as given to Father Lyprand.²¹

VI. We will next consider the words of a Frenchman, one of the most illustrious members of the French province of the Society of Jesus. We mean the Apostle of the Sacred Heart, the Ven. Claude de la Colombière.

It is well known how this holy priest and Confessor having come to England, in 1676, as chaplain to the Duchess of York,

²⁰ In the year 1658 the saying of Mass was prohibited by statute under pain of death, and in 1788 the penal laws were relaxed.

²¹ Moreover, it is said that he expressly stated that the conversion of England would be gradual—as we see it is now taking place.

spent himself in labour for souls; how he strengthened the Catholics during a most bitter persecution; how he brought back many Protestants to the fold; how he commenced here first to spread devotion to the Sacred Heart; how he was himself cast into prison and then rudely driven out of the country back to France. Amid a corrupt court he led the life of an angel. His one thought was the conversion of England, at that time so unlikely, even though the King was a Catholic at heart and his brother without disguise. For this event he worked and prayed, and begged for prayers both from communities and individuals, thus, as it has been said, "beginning that crusade of ceaseless supplication for this country of which we in our day reap the reward."²²

Although we are not told that Father de la Colombière was vouchsafed any special revelation that his prayers would prevail, (nor can we call his words a prediction or prophecy), yet he seems to have felt no small confidence that it would be so, and always speaks with a strange hope. Before quoting his words we cannot help remarking that it does seem to have been a special providence of God that such a man—one of whom our Lord had said to Margaret Mary: "Fear not, I will send My servant unto you"—should have come to our shores, and that just a year after he had consecrated himself to the Sacred Heart on Its first feast-day. And now without further comment we transcribe the thoughts which "My servant" has left to console us.

O England ! Upon what country in days of yore did Heaven more abundantly shower its blessings, to what people was ever given greater zeal for the faith, deeper reverence for the Church ? Among the great kings who governed thee, many abandoned their crowns for the love of Jesus. Canst thou tell how many of thy princes and princesses have set thee an example of evangelical poverty and chastity ? Thy cities have brought forth martyrs, thy churches pontiffs of extraordinary piety. I will not dwell on the honours received by the Mother of God at the hands of Englishmen in other days, nor speak of their devotion to the Queen of Angels, so great that England in those days was called the portion or dowry of Mary. Thou wast the first to raise the standard of the Immaculate Conception, to thee was given by the Queen of Heaven that miraculous scapular venerated by all Christians, the hope and defence of all such as have the privilege of wearing it.

²² *Life of the Ven. de la Colombière.* Abridged from the French of Eugène Séquin, S.J., p. 110.

My God, when will Thy justice be satisfied, when will Thy avenging hand be stayed? Can it be that Thou shouldst look unmoved on so many perishing souls? Show us how we may turn Thine anger aside, and once again be reunited in the fold wherein for thirteen or fourteen centuries we dwelt in the light of Thy countenance!

Never, thanks to the goodness of God, were my labours ever crowned with greater success, or my hopes of the future brighter. The Lord blesses my poor labours with marvellous results. I could fill a volume with the history of the workings of Divine love in the hearts of men I have known since I have been here. *I have the highest hopes for the advance of this good cause in times to come.* Verily, O Lord, shouldst Thou restore this people to the fold of Thy Church, Thou wouldest find among them many true and generous hearts, there to glorify as in past days Thy adorable Name.²³

VII. We are coming now to the prophecy of St. Paul of the Cross, Founder of the Passionists. Perhaps it will appear rather disappointing to many, as it is not very explicit; yet we think when it is considered with its circumstances it will be found not a little consoling. Any notice of so celebrated a Saint can hardly be required further than to say that he lived from 1694 to 1775.

For the space of fifty years St. Paul prayed constantly for the conversion of this country; he said himself that he remembered it every morning in his Mass; and that he could not help doing so if he wished. He also laid this prayer as a solemn injunction on all his religious from time to come, and as to the result of it he said, "What may be God's intention concerning that kingdom I know not; perhaps He will yet have mercy on it, and the day will come when He will by His goodness bring it to the true faith. Well, let us pray for this blessing and leave it in God's hands."

This is all that is recorded directly on the subject in his life.²⁴ Yet many have thought that he had probably received some communications on the subject.²⁵ However this may be, he certainly had a vision which is recorded as follows:

²³ *Ibid.* pp. 138—159.

²⁴ See *Vita dell' Ven. servo di Dio Paolo della Croce*, del P. Vincenzo Maria di San Paolo. The writer, better known as the Ven. Monsignore Strambi, was called by Dr. Milner in the *Orthodox Journal* of August 1815, "that living mirror of sanctity, one of his (St. Paul's) first disciples." He published the Life in 1786, eleven years after the Saint's death.

²⁵ Father Dominic, in his Preface to the English translation of Strambi (p. 7) speaks in this sense; and the following occurs in the *Petits Bollandistes*: "Ils ont même à cet égard une prédiction de leur vénérable fondateur, qui leur a annoncé le retour de l'Angleterre à l'unité." (7th ed. vol. xiii. p. 459.)

One day, while he was celebrating Mass, he remained longer than usual at the altar, and stood motionless at the time of Communion for about half an hour. He was observed by Father Giammaria, his confessor, with a face radiant and full of heavenly light. After the Mass was over the same said to the venerable Father, in a playful manner : "This morning there fell a good shower of rain did there not?" meaning an abundance of heavenly favours in prayer. The face of Father Paul was covered with blushes, and with tears in his eyes and his voice broken by sobs, he said : "*Oh! what have I seen this morning! My children, the Passionists, in England! My children in England!*" His confessor was anxious to hear more from him on the subject, but he could obtain no other answer than this, "*My children in England!*"

The importance of this prophecy will be seen by considering the history of the Passionist mission in England. As early as 1817 Dr. Milner, when in Rome, applied to the General for some of his subjects, and though he was then refused, he told the nuns of Caverswall that some of them would live to see his wishes realized.²⁶ This turned out to be true, for twenty-four years afterwards Father Dominic, who, having inherited his father's zeal, had been praying for twenty-seven years for England, was brought over by Cardinal Wiseman by what seemed an accident. It was not so, for he had years previously had an intimation from the Blessed Virgin that he was destined for the mission, and had stated as much to a pupil of his own. But what is more strange is that²⁷ he met Father Ignatius Spencer in Rome, in 1832, then just ordained a secular priest, and together they started, just one year before the first of the *Tracts for the Times* appeared, the Crusade of prayers for the conversion of England. On January 5, 1847, Father Spencer received the habit of the Order, within a year after Father Dominic had received John Henry Newman into the Church.

Of the Crusade we cannot say as much as we should wish. Its history is the history of a life. Father Ignatius travelled a great part of the continent, visited bishops and religious communities, and interviewed the Pope and cardinals, three emperors, besides two English prime ministers and other persons of distinction. His exertions were crowned with success in Rome, in Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, but most of all in Ireland. He said "he valued the prayers of the Irish more than of all the continent put together; these

²⁶ See *Life of Right Rev. Dr. Milner.* By F. C. Husenbeth, p. 288.

²⁷ See *Life of Father Ignatius Spencer.* By Father Pius, p. 216.

were good, those were heroic." And he got them. The writer happens to know of Irish families where the custom was kept up, at least till a few years ago, of adding to night prayers Father Spencer's *Our Father* and *Hail Mary* for England. In all Passionist houses three *Hail Marys* are said after Compline for the same intention, a custom first introduced by Father Spencer in 1849. And Father Dominic wrote: "I am convinced there is not a Passionist who does not feel interest in it, and who does not endeavour to inspire others with the like feeling." We may add that St. Paul's devotion to England was considered so important, that it is mentioned twice in the process²⁸ of canonization, both by a postulator as a motive for carrying it through, and again in the *Literæ Apostolicæ*, issued in 1867 on the subject by Pius the Ninth.

VIII. We will now give the words of the Curé d'Ars. It can hardly be needful to say much of that marvel of simplicity who was raised up, as the Cardinal Archbishop has said,²⁹ as a wholesome rebuke to the intellectual pride of this age, inflated as it is with science.

To the corrupt intellectual refinement of Greece and Rome, God opposed the illiterate sanctity of the Apostles; to the spiritual miseries of this age He opposes a man who in learning hardly complied with the conditions required for Holy Orders, but, like St. Francis of Assisi, drew the souls of men to him by the irresistible power of a supernatural life.

It was a common thing for cardinals and bishops from all parts of Europe and America to visit the village of Ars to get for themselves and their undertakings some benefit from the supernatural light which shone around its humble pastor. In the life by his fellow-labourer, the Abbé Monnin,³⁰ we are told that Cardinal de Bonald came ten times, and a long list of other eminent names is added. Among these visitors was the venerable Dr. Ullathorne, then Bishop of Birmingham, who has given us in print³¹ an account of his visit, and of an assurance then given of the future re-conversion of England. We will quote the Bishop's words:

²⁸ The Postulator was Bishop of Annecy, who says, "Insuper hinc sperare licet Anglorum genti, pro qua per annos quinquaginta divinam misericordiam tantopere exoravit, grandem aliquam gratiam esse obventuram." See *Compendium Actorum Omnium Canonizationis*, &c. Roma, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 125 and 408.

²⁹ In the Preface to an English *Life of the Curé d'Ars*.

³⁰ Vol. ii. chap. ii. p. 320.

³¹ In the *Pilgrimage to La Salette*, May, 1854.

The first object on which my eyes fell was the head, face, and shrunken figure of the Curé; a figure not easily to be forgotten. His face was small, wasted, and sallow; many expressive lines were marked around the mouth. His hair was white as snow; his expansive forehead pale, smooth, and clear; whilst his eyes were remarkably deep in shadow, and covered with their lids. . . . As he opened his eyes they sent forth a light, pale indeed, as if from his incessant fasting, but so preternaturally bright and tranquil, as to awaken at once the deepest interest. . . . I was speaking of prayer for England, and of the sufferings of our poorer Catholics on account of their faith; and, as he was listening, his eyes nearly closed, when suddenly he opened their singular light in all its brightness full upon me, and breaking in on the narrative in a way I shall never forget, with the manner of one giving a confidence, he said: "*But I believe that the Church of England will return again to its ancient splendour!*"

What shall we say? That these were reckless words?

IX. We may here add to these various predictions and expressions of strong hope the fact that since the Reformation times there has been always a general sort of impression, both among Protestants and Catholics, that England will one day return to the faith. This may partly account for the bitterness of the persecution, as a tyrant that fears his victim is always more disposed to be cruel to him. We think this popular belief ought to weigh for something, as there can be no effect without a cause; but we have refrained from quoting hitherto any prediction for which a good authority cannot be given. For curiosity's sake however we subjoin the following:

A correspondent writes: "In the south of England there is a saying that *when the Protestants have built as many churches as were taken from the Catholics, England will become Catholic.* The prophecy is well known, and masons building churches have been heard to refer to it."

The following adage is a very old one:

*Under Edward the Sixth the Mass was no more,
Edward the Seventh the Mass will restore.*

In 1643, on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Parliament ordered a troop of horse and two companies of foot to tear down the celebrated Cheapside Cross, built in 1290, rebuilt in 1441, and somewhat mutilated in 1581. On the day of its downfall a tract was published, *The Downfall of Dagon; or the taking down of the Cheapside Cross*, in which the cross is supposed to make a will, saying: "I give my body and stones

to those masons that cannot tell how to frame the like againe,
to keepe by them for a pattern ; *for in time there will be more
crosses in London than ever there be yet.*³²

It is stated that Mother Shipton predicted that England would lose and afterwards regain the faith. She had a great reputation for sanctity and certainly made some curious prophecies, which were first published in 1448, and which have been verified in our own days.

Perhaps in conclusion we cannot do better than quote a few words from the wonderful sermon which at our starting we mentioned, words which have lately acquired for us a deeper meaning :

We have no slight outfit for our opening warfare. Can we religiously suppose that the blood of our martyrs, three centuries ago and since, shall never receive its recompense? Those priests, regular and secular, did they suffer for no end? Or rather, for an end which is not yet accomplished? The long imprisonment, the fetid dungeon, the weary suspense, the tyrannous trial, the barbarous sentence, the savage execution, the rack, the gibbet, the knife, the caldron, the numberless tortures of those holy victims, O my God, are they to have no reward? Are Thy martyrs to cry from under Thine altar for their loving vengeance on this guilty people, and to cry in vain? Shall they lose life, and not gain a better life for the children of those who persecuted them? Is this Thy way, O my God, righteous and true? Is it according to Thy promise, O King of Saints, if I may dare talk to Thee of justice? Did not Thou Thyself pray for Thine enemies upon the Cross, and convert them? Did not Thy first Martyr win Thy great Apostle, then a persecutor, by his loving prayer? And in that day of trial and desolation for England, when hearts were pierced through and through with Mary's woe, at the crucifixion of Thy Body mystical, was not every tear that flowed, and every drop of blood that was shed, the seeds of a future harvest, when they who sowed in sorrow were to reap in joy?³³

³² See Appendix to *Life of Luisa de Carvajal*, Quarterly Series, p. 302.

³³ Newman, *Sermons on various Occasions*, Third Edition, pp. 178, 179.

The Industrial and Commercial Classes of Paris.

IF agriculture be the foundation of the social structure in all civilized countries, industrial and commercial pursuits are their backbone and the proximate source of their wealth and greatness. It is, then, interesting to study the classes engaged in these pursuits in the capital of a nation blessed with such inexhaustible resources and such wonderful recuperative power as France.

Beginning with a class who occupy a humble position in the hierarchy of commerce, the *employés* in the industrial establishments of Paris constitute an important element in its population. As a rule, they are thrifty and self-denying, and contrive to keep up a respectable appearance on salaries of six hundred or, at most, eight hundred francs a year. Many of them, when about the age of twenty-five, marry either one of the young women engaged in the same shops, or some *ouvrière* who works at home on one of the many industries which these houses afford to women of the humbler ranks in the great centre of the world of fashion. The "happy pair" then hire a room, or *logement*, which is comfortably furnished and decorated with cheap coloured prints or engravings. Here they will live contentedly until they have saved as much as will enable them to take and furnish a little *appartement* and to become, eventually, shopkeepers on their own account. The unmarried *employés* usually live in the large establishments to which they belong. As the cooks usually supply the meals of the *économat*, or common table for these houses by contract with the proprietors, and the materials being provided at little more than first cost, the *employés* have their board on much cheaper terms than they could procure it at any restaurant. Many of these young men are the sons of wealthy parents, who place them in these shops at a nominal salary as a preparation for an industrial career. In many cases the assistants are paid, in lieu of a fixed salary, by an *ad valorem* commission on the articles they sell; and under this arrangement smart *employés* of

prepossessing address earn, on an average, from twenty to thirty francs a day during the season. In such establishments as Les Grands Magasins du Louvre, the Bon Marché, Le Printemps, &c., the young men have fine well-furnished reading-rooms, supplied with all the leading French journals and illustrated papers. Each establishment has also its private band, or *fanfare*. The fact that the "Bon Marché" alone gives employment to four thousand persons will enable us to form some estimate of the numbers to whom monster shops of the kind furnish a means of subsistence in Paris.

The industrial classes of Paris seem to be in no haste to get rich. Believing in the principle of development, which prevails in all the operations of nature, they apply themselves steadily to their occupations, and wait patiently for the result of their labours. Passing through any of the principal streets, you will see, for instance, a modest little eating-house ; pass by it about six months after, you will find it enlarged and embellished ; and some months later on you will see it transformed into an imposing establishment, sumptuously decorated and furnished with all the luxurious appliances of a first-class restaurant. In like manner the petty vegetable shops expand into *rôtisseries*, and poultry shops into *charcuteries*. It is the dowries and economic habits of the women that provide the capital for effecting these improvements ; aided, of course, by the energy and enterprise of their husbands, who are invariably guided by the advice of their wives in all their undertakings, to their mutual benefit. Even when they commence business with a large capital at their disposal, Parisian shopkeepers do not depart from this tentative process in carrying out their enterprises ; and it is only after having established connections and secured a certain amount of customers, that they will invest their entire resources in the development of their business. Failures are, consequently, rare amongst them. The French commercial code is much more severe on bankrupts than the English. In France, even where fraud is not clearly established, a bankrupt is deprived of the franchise, and is ineligible for election to any public office until he rehabilitates himself by paying his debts. Such humiliating disqualifications must inspire French traders with a wholesome fear of bankruptcy.

Among the class of petty shopkeepers there is an almost equal share of comfort and a moderate proportion of the good things of this life. They all enjoy what they call *une honnête*

aisance, probably because it raises them above the temptation of cheating their customers. In no country is wealth more diffused among the masses than in France, and the *bourgeoisie* especially have always money at their disposal to invest in any promising speculation. This accounts for the cheerfulness and content which is a distinctive characteristic of the French industrial classes.

This class are, as a rule, remarkable for their integrity. They pay their debts punctually, lead well-ordered lives, and gratify their tastes for pleasure in healthy, inexpensive ways. Unfailing self-reliance, unwearied patience, and almost unresting toil characterize these worthy men, who rarely engage in any enterprise until they are ripe to accomplish it. They are never despondent, whatever happens, and never complain. They ward off, or lessen, the effect of misfortune by foresight and prudence. If unsuccessful in any undertaking, they commence bravely again, and succeed in the long run in winning, by dint of hard work and perseverance, the coveted position of a member of the upper middle class, which merges into the commercial circles of Paris—the full-blown *bourgeois* with florid cheeks and rounded paunch, the bare sight of whom rouses the bile of the morose *prolétaires*. Apart from occasional lapses into the practice of adulteration, they are honest traders; and even those who make some profit by the sophistication of their wares can hardly be blamed for a custom to which their *clients* submit uncomplainingly. As for wine merchants, most of their customers are very indifferent judges of wines; and why should the former be solicitous to supply a genuine article to persons who would not know the difference between a glass of Chambertin or Chateau-Yquem and one of *clérisé à l'eau de vie*? Such was the defence put forward by one of these worthies in one of the Parisian police courts in reply to a charge of watering and artificially colouring his wine.¹

Keenly alive to their interests, Parisian shopkeepers are ever on the alert to attract purchasers. Not only do they display goods suitable to each season in their shop-fronts, but they

¹ A short time since, a publican, who had been punished for selling artificial wine, went to the official chemist on whose report he had been summoned for the offence, and asked him how he knew his wine had been adulterated. "Simply because it contained no trace of bi-tartrate of potash, which all natural wines contain," was the reply. "Thanks," rejoined Boniface, coolly, "next time I shall not forget to put that in my wine." Shopkeepers convicted of adulterating their liquors or wares are liable to be deprived of their civil rights for a period of five years.

change the articles with every variation in the weather. On a hot day articles of dress of the lightest texture claim attention ; on a cold day, furs and flannels invite the passer-by ; while in wet weather there will be an irruption of umbrellas and mackintoshes in the windows of drapery establishments. The same tactics are adopted by shopkeepers who deal in other commodities. Most of these *petits commerçants* are well-fed, hale, and hearty-looking, with an expression of contentment in every lineament of their cheerful faces ; and although sharp competition exists between them, the hostility implied in the phrase *la boutique en face* does not seem to exist among them. They are ever ready to assist each other when in need, and are linked together by a common bond of good-fellowship and human sympathy.

There are an enormous number of groceries in Paris. The typical *épicier* of fiction and of the stage, whose blunders and vulgarity amused the Parisians of the past generation, has no prototype in the metropolis now-a-days. They are now, for the most part, a highly intelligent and estimable class. They are all thriving, and many of them wealthy ; and their handsome shops, teeming with expensive wines, *liqueurs*, and costly edible luxuries, attest the large amount of capital embarked in their business. Most of these establishments have elegantly decorated and well-horsed vans, which lend additional life and variety to the Parisian thoroughfares. As a rule, these shopkeepers have been assistants in groceries, and pass through the intermediate position of managers of *succursales*, or branch establishments, ere they became grocers "*comme les autres*." Many of them are also extensive purveyors of fowl, fruit, and vegetables.

A fondness for flowers has been always a prominent characteristic of the Parisians, but that refined taste was never so strong and so generally diffused among them as at present. In fact, it is one of the most lucrative of the minor industries of Paris. Indeed, the Gallic capital is far more entitled to be called "The City of Flowers" than Florence, which claims the exclusive right to that poetic designation. The great city is brightened and beautified with numerous flower-markets, supplied from the carefully cultivated gardens in its environs. The balconies and window-sills, as well as the entrance-halls, of most of the houses, bloom with flowering plants and geraniums. On festive occasions the dinner-tables of the citizens are profusely decorated with flowers, and almost every drawing-room is provided with a *jardinière* filled with these "fairy-formed and many-coloured children of the sun." The accepted lover is bound to

present daily to his *fiancée* the indispensable bouquet during the term of his engagement, and the depth of his affection is measured by the size and value of his floral offerings at the shrine of Hymen.

A large portion of the flowers sold in the Paris markets is devoted to the decoration of the churches, and especially of the altars of the Sacred Heart, the devotion to which is specially fervent in its cradle-land, France. On the feasts of the Assumption and All Souls an enormous business is transacted in flowers in Paris. Last year the cost of the flowers sold on the feast of All Souls was estimated at about half a million francs (£20,000); so that the feast, which is one of mourning for the multitude, is one of rejoicing for the Parisian flower-dealers, in whose nostrils the *odor lucri* is far more agreeable than the fragrance of the choicest exotics. A large trade is also carried on in artificial flowers, which vie in form and colour with the natural ones. The traffic in flowers is in the hands of the corporation of *bouquetières*, and gives employment to a large number of women. This agreeable branch of Parisian commerce is liberally encouraged by the National Horticultural Society of France, which awards valuable prizes to the successful competitors at its exhibitions. A large sum is allocated annually for that purpose. This encouragement of horticulture is accounted for by the fact that flowers have a part in every important event in the life of a Parisian: they greet him as an infant at his baptism, impart an additional charm and brightness to his bridal day, cheer his home throughout his life, and adorn his grave when he dies.

The *syndicates* of the Parisian traders do not, it is true, possess such wealth and reserved funds as the fat guilds of the sturdy burghers of the Netherlands and the wealthy corporate bodies of the British metropolis, which have been fed for centuries with the teeming riches of their vast colonial possessions, and where, unlike France, the accumulation and transmission of wealth have not been disturbed by frequent political convulsions. Nevertheless, if the Parisian guilds cannot display at their banquets the massive and costly gold and silver plate which imparts such an aspect of opulence and solidity to the civic dinners of the London Corporation, those of the Gallic capital surpass their *confrères* of the British metropolis in the genial but sober enjoyment of "the festive board," in the eloquence of their speeches, and in the splendour and artistic decorations of their banqueting-halls.

During the summer months the industrial class enjoy excursions on Sundays and *fête*-days, when they partake with their families of appetizing dinners in good restaurants in the vicinity of the capital. Their assistants get their "outings" in turn, so that all can participate in healthful occupation of the kind. It is a cheering symptom, indicating the revival of religious feelings amongst the middle classes, that the number of shops and offices closed on Sundays and holidays is steadily increasing. This movement is mainly due to the first Lenten Pastoral of Mgr. Richard, the Archbishop of Paris, which was especially directed against the un-Christian secularizing of the Sunday so general in France. The people, whether sceptics or not, are influenced by the traditions of the Church, which are deeply rooted in their customs. Every Wednesday and Friday fish is cooked in all the hotels and restaurants, and during Lent less meat than usual is consumed. The feasts of the Church are invariably devoted to pleasure excursions, especially Whitsuntide and the Assumption, which are also celebrated by family re-unions, even among the anti-clerical party, who are careful to have some additional dainty on their dinner-tables on these occasions. In truth, the mass of the French socialists are infidels only in speech and on the surface ; they (at least those who have been baptized) unwittingly retain the faith, and profess a contempt for all forms of Christianity outside the pale of the Catholic Church. Thus all attempts on the part of the English and American Bible Societies to "evangelize" the rationalists of France are utterly futile.

Shopkeepers take pride in decorating their shops, which are bright with gilding, mirrors, sparkling gaseliers, richly painted and emblazoned panels, and (in most of the restaurants and pastry-shops) ceilings representing starry heavens, or rosy, silver-winged cupids and nymphs floating amidst flowers or fleecy clouds. It is true that they make their customers pay for these embellishments ; but one cannot complain of an extra charge for the gratification of the eye as well as that of the palate. The articles displayed in the shop-fronts are arranged with artistic effect, each having its fitting *pendant*, while the hues of all coloured objects are harmoniously blended. Not content with beautifying the interior of their establishments, they are quite as solicitous about the embellishment of the exterior. At the opening of every season one sees erected over almost every shop solidly constructed scaffolding, swarming with painters

and plasterers engaged in renewing and embellishing the *façades*.

Women almost invariably keep the accounts and act as cashiers in all the industrial establishments of Paris. They have clear heads, are quick at calculation, and sit serenely enthroned in their offices, while keeping a vigilant eye, withal, on all going on around them. Husbands and wives of this class are affectionate but not uxorious, their conjugal endearments being usually confined to the simple words *m'amie—mon ami*; but they are ready to make many sacrifices for each other, and work steadily for their common welfare and to bring up and establish their children in the world. It was owing to the thrift of women of this class that France was enabled to pay the five milliards extorted from her by the Germans, after *la guerre maudite* of 1870-71.

Members of the French aristocracy, and even of the select circles known as *la haute gomme*, furnish the capital of some small industries, such as glove, perfumery, and pastry-cook shops, which are managed by *gérants*. The profits derived from this humble source enable the actual proprietors to figure with *éclat* in "fast" clubs and in the world of fashion. It is certainly a much safer investment of capital than gambling on the Bourse, or purchasing shares in any of the flashy bubble companies which spring up and disappear so often in the financial world of Paris.

The chief aim of the Paris industrial classes is to amass a sum sufficient to enable them to retire from business between the ages of fifty and sixty, and to enjoy the enviable position of *rentiers* or *propriétaires*. When this desiderated sum is attained, they sell their establishments, transferring also their *clientèle* therewith, on advantageous terms, and hire a rococo villa in one of the favourite suburban districts of Paris, such as Passy or Auteuil, where, during the sweltering summer months, they can enjoy a *villégiatura*, close to the pulsing life of the great city; nestled in gardens adorned with rock-work, kiosks, dovecots, fountains, hot-houses, and frequently with mutilated statues, which are more precious to the worthy citizens in their defective state, for they fondly imagine that the armless, weather-stained sculptures impart to their suburban retreats an air of antiquity which flatters the ambitious social pretensions of the *bourgeois*. Paradoxical as it appears, it is, nevertheless, perfectly true that many of this class, although

sincere Republicans, simulate the manners and tastes of the nobility. Republicans and lovers of equality in theory, many of these Jourdains of to-day are ready in practice to admire and court all who bear titles. They often marry plain and poor ladies of rank, in order to procure the *entrée* into fashionable circles through the influence of their wives. These, however, are exceptions; the majority of retired Parisians are much too sensible to indulge in such silly pretensions. In such quiet nests as I have described, sheltered from the storms of life and the deafening noise of Paris, they lead calm, routine, domestic lives, happy in the midst of their "olive branches," and flourishing under the influence and care of their prudent, thrifty wives, who are skilful in composing pastry and *confitures*, in the concoction of home-made wines, expert at the needle, and who are as adroit in the getting up of linen as they are well versed in the price of provisions.

Commercial men in Paris are free from that habit of hurry which prevails among the Anglo-Saxon race engaged in trade. In the business world of the city of pleasure and fashion, one does not see that feverish activity, those intense commercial rivalries, or those gigantic and hazardous speculations which agitate trade in the great Republic across the Atlantic, and which as often produce fearful financial crashes as they realize colossal fortunes. Parisian traders frequently discuss and conclude bargains while breakfasting pleasantly in a restaurant, after which they stroll off to their respective shops or offices, smoking Turkish cigarettes or fragrant Havannahs. What a contrast the placid expression of their faces presents to the anxious, care-worn visages of the poor London "City" men, or the parched and haggard aspect and impetuous go-aheadism of the Wall Street speculators in the "Empire City!" In short, Parisian merchants make business the pleasure, and pleasure only the occasional occupation of their lives.

In rational enterprise, wealth, and business capacity, the industrial classes of Paris are not surpassed by those of any other capital; and even the great centres of industry in England and the United States do not present a more animated scene and more bustling activity than some quarters of the Gallic metropolis—such as the Rue Aux Ours, Rue des Petits-Champs, and the Boulevards Poissonnière, and Bonnes-Nouvelles—during the busy hours of the day. It is, however, in the more central

districts of the great city that the real wealth of the Parisian traders—those engaged in industries *de haute luxe*—is manifested. Goldsmiths' and jewellers' shops are more numerous in this quarter than in any other part of Paris, and exhibit a richer display in their windows. The shop-keepers of the Rue de la Paix, the Faubourg St. Honoré, the Avenue de l'Opéra, and the Palais Royal are the aristocrats of their class, and are remarkable, for the most part, for their air of distinction and refined manners. Their shops are teeming with the rarest and most costly articles, from the furs and sables of the Arctic circle to all the gorgeous productions of the East—

From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon

they present a feast of rich and harmonious colours to the eye. They also exhibit the *dernier mot* of progress and invention in their respective specialities; not that Parisians are more endowed with the inventive faculty than other people, but they are especially clever in utilizing and improving the inventions of others. They have brought the telephone and the electric light to a high degree of perfection, and in no other European city are these useful inventions in such general use as in Paris. In hygienic and sanitary improvements they are also far ahead of other capitals. It must be admitted that the Parisians have made much progress in a purely material and intellectual sense within the last few years. What with drinking oxygenized water, with inhaling vapours of pine-tar through pipes at his table, telegraphing stenographed messages, and using underground despatch posts, with telephones and electric bells within his immediate reach, and with his streets and houses lit up *à giorno* by the electric light, the well-to-do Parisian of to-day crowds more real vitality and physical enjoyment into twelve months than the Parisian of the past generation could manage to press into the existence of three score years and ten allotted us as our mortal span.

Among the commercial classes in Paris, the *gens de haute finance*, or those who are engaged in financial operations on a large scale, lead luxurious lives. They occupy fine hôtels or splendid *appartements* in such wealthy quarters of the city as the Champs-Elysées, the Boulevards Haussmann and Malesherbes, the Faubourg St. Honoré, and the Avenue de Friedland. Their dwellings are adorned with masterpieces of art, and many of them have a dozen horses in their stables. A convincing proof of their prosperity is afforded in the fact that the greater portion

of the capital required for the International Exhibition of 1889 (43,000,000 f.) has been supplied by a few Parisian banking houses. They comprise various types, from the refined, urbane, and elegantly dressed manager of a long-established firm, with offices plainly but comfortably furnished, to the flashy money-lender, who displays a superfluity of false jewellery on his person, and receives his clients in chambers encumbered with a profusion of showy articles in the worst possible taste.

During the last five years Parisian industries were seriously affected by active foreign competition; their productions had been driven from markets of which they had enjoyed an almost exclusive possession. Instead of exporting her own manufactures, France was forced to compete with a largely-increased importation of articles from abroad. In these branches of the industrial arts in which Paris has hitherto excelled, England, Germany, and Austro-Hungary are now producing articles fully equal to them in quality and finish, although inferior in artistic design. Even her trade in champagne, for the production of which France is most envied by other wine-producing countries, and which is one of the chief sources of her wealth, was menaced by the disloyal competition of Germany, in which the marks of the producers of the best champagne were skilfully counterfeited. With this spurious liquor they were underselling and superseding the genuine one, not only in other countries but in France itself. In like manner they sent an enormous quantity of their beer, largely adulterated, into that country to the serious detriment of the French brewers.² Seeing the danger to which their commerce in these as in other branches of trade was thus exposed, French *industriels* were aroused to meet the emergency and adopted measures to engage seriously in a vital struggle with their commercial rivals.

The excellent system of education, on the plan of Pestalozzi and Fröbel, imparting *leçons d'objets*, and a special technical course by which the eye and hand are trained for mechanical pursuits, *pari passu* with intellectual culture, and which has been long in operation in the celebrated École

² At the exhibition of French beers, held recently at the Palais de l'Industrie, the superiority of the native produce over that of other countries was universally admitted. There is a general determination among Parisians to consume henceforth only the beer produced in France.

Monge, was introduced into most of the State educational establishments, such as the great national schools of Voiron, Roubaix, Limoges, and D'Aubisson. In these institutions the pupils are also prepared for commerce by the study of modern languages (so long sacrificed in France to an almost exclusive application to the Greek and Roman classics), and of science applied to manufactures. A useful and practical measure has been also devised by the French Government, that of *voyages scolaires*, or sending the best pupils of the State schools, during vacation, into the provinces to examine the working of the local manufactories. These excursions last from two to three weeks, and are beneficial alike to the health and intellect of the youthful excursionists.

An organization styled "Missions scientifiques et commerciales" has been formed, whose agents visit various countries to study *in loco* the problems of production and consumption, and draw up reports thereon. Another association known as *La Société d'encouragement pour le commerce d'Exportation* has been also constituted expressly to promote the export trade of France, and sends young men abroad to acquire information regarding the best markets for the industrial productions of the Republic. Following the example of the Hamburg merchants, some Parisian ones have undertaken what are called *expositions flottantes*, or floating marts, in vessels containing specimens of their wares, with a large storage in reserve to meet any demands for them. These are entrusted to the care of experienced commercial men, and are sent to the principal ports of the globe. Owing to the neglect of linguistic studies in France, her merchants were obliged to confide their goods in the colonies either to English or German agents, who felt no interest in promoting their sale to the prejudice of their own wares. This mistake is now being rectified, and French commercial men can henceforth entrust their merchandise to their own countrymen abroad, who can speak the language of the colonists and natives of the colonies in which they happen to reside. This practical instruction is also imparted to the female pupils in some of the State schools, such as the *Lycée de jeunes filles* at Montauban. The Minister of Public Instruction is preparing a thorough reform not only in the systems hitherto practised in the primary and secondary schools, but in nearly all the great educational establishments of France, in which education and instruction will be henceforth carried out on lines

adapted to the requirements and spirit of the age.³ Besides these encouraging organizations, the *Société de géographie commerciale* offers a competitive prize of two thousand francs for the best work on commercial geography.

These measures have already been productive of fruitful results. In one department of trade in which the Germans took the lead—the traffic in toys—French traders in these articles have invaded the “Fatherland,” and compete successfully on their own soil with the mortified Teutons. In cutlery the French are becoming formidable rivals to Sheffield, while the woollen manufactures of the Republic are now producing textile fabrics fully equal to those of Manchester, and her potteries articles excelling in artistic design the best productions of Wedgwood, as her *fabriques* of porcelain turn out specimens of ceramic art rivalling that of Minton. At the Belgian International Exhibition in 1885 French exhibitors carried off most diplomas and medals. The mining industries of France have also been considerably developed of late, especially its coal mines, the output last year—despite some grave strikes among the miners—having exceeded the yield of the preceding year by more than one million tons. However, France has still to depend on England and Belgium for the greater part of her coal supply; but with a better system, and with a better understanding between the employers and their men, the produce of the mines may suffice to meet the requirements of the nation. Most of the hands have now a certain share in the profits; and a few of the mines have become the property of the miners, who work them on their own account, but hitherto without any decided success. We should be rejoiced to see every enterprise of the kind succeed. How to ameliorate the condition of the working classes without detriment to the interests of those more fortunately circumstanced is the great social problem of the day, and the Church, which has ever been the friend of the toiling masses, is now taking a more active part than ever towards its solution in promoting their welfare by every means in her power.

Another important factor in the revival of trade in France is her recent colonial development. The acquisition of Tunis, and

³ An ably written work, *La Question de Latin*, recently published by M. Raoul Frary, has materially contributed to this reform. One held of high authority on educational questions, M. Jules Simon, has been long in favour of technical instruction occupying a prominent place in the *curricula* of the great educational institutions, except those devoted to the learned professions, as the Sorbonne and the College of France.

especially of Tonquin, with its twenty million inhabitants, has opened a wide field for the disposal of French merchandise, and has already given a powerful impulse to her commerce, with a commensurate increase in her mercantile marine, which, in the number and tonnage of the ships comprised in it, is now not much inferior to that of England.⁴

Although the French do not possess the aptitude for colonization which seems to be a special gift of the Anglo-Saxon, they have a great advantage over us in their Catholic missionaries and sisterhoods, who act as pioneers to the expeditionary forces of France, and reconcile the natives to her sway. Appreciating the services they render to their country, even the most anti-clerical Ministries of the Republic prudently encourage their Catholic missions in the colonies. The President of the Republic, M. Carnot, recently bestowed on a Sister of Charity, in recognition of her services, the Cross of the Legion of Honour, which he attached to her habit with his own hands.

The French Government are now realizing the colonial policy so ably advocated, more than twenty years ago, by the late Captain Francis Garnier, of the French navy, in his interesting work, *De Paris à Tibet*—that of founding a great Indo-Chinese Empire in the far East, as a counterpoise to our Indian Empire, of which, as Frenchmen keenly feel, their countrymen Dupleix and Labourdonnais were the real founders. England, however, should not regard the accomplishment of this design with feelings of hostility or jealousy. In these vast regions there is ample room for both, and whatever would promote the prosperity of France would be beneficial to England as well as to all mankind. Moreover, by our occupation of Mandelay we command the Yun-Nan and Red River (Tong-Ki-Cung), the chief commercial water-routes to Southern China, which gives us a more ready access to its marts than the French.

⁴ A comparison of the commerce of France for the years 1887 and 1886, taken from official returns furnished by the monthly *Bulletin* issued by the customs administration, gives the following results:—

Imports, 1887	... 4,270,772,000 f.
Do. 1886	... 4,200,142,000 f.
<hr/>	
Increase in 1887...	70,630,000 f. or £2,825,200.
Exports, 1887	... 3,319,774,000 f.
Do. 1886	... 3,248,735,000 f.
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Increase in 1887...	71,039,000 f. or £2,841,560

With a view of still further promoting technical training, exhibitions of industrial and artistic objects are regularly held in the Palais de l'Industrie, under the auspices of the *Union Centrale des Arts Industriels*, in which are shown the raw materials, the tools, the various stages of fabrication, and the most recent improvements that have been effected in each respective art and trade; thus enabling the visitor to perceive at a glance the progress that has been made since the preceding exhibition. A museum of Decorative Arts is also in process of construction, which will constitute a permanent school of instruction in that branch of industry. In addition to this, a sum of five million, three hundred and twenty thousand francs, deducted from the two hundred and fifty millions raised by the *Emprunt de Paris*, will be devoted to the creation of a *Bourse de Commerce*, by means of which the traders of the capital can be placed in immediate communication with all the markets of the world, and which will give a great development to their commerce by furnishing them with the latest information on all the movements in trade; and, to crown all, a *Bourse du Travail* is about to be established, through which, among other useful purposes, merchants can procure the most skilled and best-conducted workmen in their respective avocations, on the shortest notice. Finally, the Parisians are determined to eclipse all competitors at their great International Centenary Exhibition soon approaching, and the preparations for which are making rapid progress.

The industrial and commercial classes of Paris are, then, seriously preparing to enter on the great commercial campaign—or, in other words, the struggle for existence caused by overcrowding in centres of industry—in which all nations are now engaged, and which is becoming more intense from day to day. The traders of the United Kingdom should be alive to the facts I have mentioned, and bestir themselves accordingly, so as to keep abreast of the great industrial movement now going on in France, and which is actively promoted by its Government.

B. ARCHDEKAN-CODY.

The alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism.

CONCLUDING ARTICLE.—THE PAPACY IN THE DAYS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

THE Early English Church was in communion with the Papacy, was obedient to its authority, and believed it to be an institution of Divine appointment. In view of the evidence which has been submitted, this at least ought not to be denied. But Lord Selborne bids us remember that our task is not yet finished. Was this Papacy of St. Augustine's time the same in character as that from which the Tudors broke away? Was it not rather a Papacy so modest in its claims that if still existent it would find recognition from the present generation of Anglicans no less ready than that which it received from their forefathers?

The Church of Rome itself, and its relations to the Church of England and to other European National Churches, underwent important changes during the many centuries which elapsed between the mission of Augustin and the reign of Henry the Eighth. The whole medieval system grew up during the interval. . . . Almost, if not absolutely, everything which the Church of England has since rejected as usurpation or corruption was then unknown. I will mention here particularly two things, and those because they are material to a right conception of the questions which arose between the Church of England and the Church of Rome before and at the time of the Reformation. The "decretales" falsely ascribed to Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, upon which the entire edifice of medieval and modern Papal Supremacy was built up, were not fabricated till the ninth century (about A.D. 850), nor were they codified by Gratian as the basis of the Roman Canon Law till A.D. 1151. Those decretals were the true source of all subsequent encroachments of the spiritual on the civil power, and on the independent rights of National Churches. The other thing is the temporal power of the Pope; which gradually gave to the Court of Rome the dual character, of an Italian State influencing and influenced by the secular politics of other European

States, and at the same time the ecclesiastical centre of Western Christendom. This originated with the donation of the Exarchate of Ravenna to Pope Stephen the Third by Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, in A.D. 755, more than one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church . . . (*Defence, &c.*, pp. 7, 8).

Our present business is to examine into the truth of this charge, so far as it affects the one point of doctrine with which we have all along been engaged, the relation of the Pope to the Church. A great and radical alteration was introduced, we are told, into the constitution of the Church under the combined influence of the False Decretals and the Temporal Power. Lord Selborne does not define the nature of the alteration in precise terms, but the charge is not novel, and runs thus. The effect of the two agencies mentioned is said to have been to transform a Primacy into the Papacy. Previously, the Church Universal was an aggregate of dioceses, provinces, national churches, patriarchates, each of which enjoyed the largest independent rights for the management of its own affairs. These largely independent Churches had each its own separate episcopal government or hierarchy, and all were bound to submit to the decrees of the united episcopate enacted in *Œcumene* Councils. Beyond this they were not organized into a single governmental unity. The Bishop of Rome had indeed a certain recognised pre-eminence, either in virtue of his supposed descent from St. Peter, or else from the secular importance of his See. But it was a pre-eminence of rank only, not of authority. It entitled its possessor to receive the bow from his brother bishops. It made him a dignified personage, whom, if they liked (but only if they liked), they could employ as a president in their *Œcumene* Councils, as a counsellor in their doubts, as an intermediary between distant Churches. It imposed upon him a special, though somewhat indeterminate, duty of watching over the observance of the Sacred Canons, with the corresponding right to warn, to exhort, and, if unheeded, to sound the first alarm. Still he had no power to command. His position was one of influence, not authority.¹ Such was the earlier condition, but between the ninth and the

¹ Except of course as regards the subjects of his own ecclesiastical province or patriarchate. It is most uncertain what were the precise limits of this patriarchate. To Anglicans this question should be of some importance. To Catholics it is of very little. In the West the Papal authority has thrown the patriarchal into the shade. It is difficult to find instances in which the Popes appeal to any patriarchal rights in justification of their action.

twelfth centuries, as a result of the False Decretals and the Temporal Power which the Popes then acquired, this Primacy was transformed into a Papacy. The Church assumed

The form of an absolute monarchy subjected to the arbitrary power of a single individual, and the foundation of the edifice of Papal Infallibility was already laid: first, by the principle that the decrees of every Council require Papal confirmation; secondly, by the assertion that the fulness of power, even in matters of faith, resides in the Pope alone, who is Bishop of the Universal Church, while the other bishops are his servants.²

The idea in the last clause of this passage is elsewhere explained with greater fulness, when, speaking of the principle that the Pope alone has plenary jurisdiction in the Church, while all bishops are merely his assistants for such portion of his duty as he pleases to intrust to them, Janus adds:

This may be said to be the completion of the Papal system. It reduces all bishops to mere helpers, to whom the Pope assigns such share of his rights as he finds good, whence he can also assume to himself, at his arbitrary will, such of their ancient rights as he pleases.³

Whence it followed that:

In the ancient sense of the word there were no more any bishops but only delegates and vicars of the Pope.⁴

In this indictment there is both overstatement and understatement: overstatement in the account of the modern, understatement in the account of the ancient discipline of the Church.

A few words are all that is required to correct the overstatement, but they are most necessary. Janus has given us in the first of the passages quoted a point of principle, that the new relation of the Pope to the bishops is that of a despotic sovereign to his servants; and a point of procedure, that Councils came to require Papal confirmation as a condition of their validity. Two such points are not co-ordinate, and they should not have been classed together in the same statement. If the Pope enjoys the plenitude of power, it is within his competence to require explicit confirmation of Councils or not, as he thinks desirable. We need attend therefore only to the point of principle. It is quite true that the modern system, whatever may have to be said about the ancient, ascribes to the Pope the plenitude of power. But the bishops do not on that account

² *Janus*, p. 95 (English translation).

³ *Ibid.* p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*

become his mere delegates and servants. Plenitude of power is a relative term. Nothing more is meant by its use, save that in contradistinction to the bishops, who possess it in restricted measure, the Popes possess in its fulness whatever power Jesus Christ has committed to the governing body of His visible Church. Thus it by no means follows, that they can make arrangements according to their mere will and pleasure. Certain lines have been laid down as belonging to the Divine constitution of the Church, and these they must not touch. Among such organic features is the rule of the episcopate. Our Lord has ordained that, in subordination to the Pontiff, His Church shall be ruled by Bishops, and that the Christian people shall be apportioned among them. It is the office of the Pope, either immediately or mediately, to determine the limits of the episcopal jurisdiction in regard to place, persons, and even causes. He may also decide that in certain regions the growth of the faith among the people is not ripe enough to make ordinary ecclesiastical arrangements desirable. Still he must always treat episcopal government as the normal condition, and be seeking to work up to its establishment even where it cannot be established at the particular time. If too he limits the power of the bishops within the boundaries of their local jurisdiction, this must be done with a sincere view to the welfare of the people, and must be done with moderation. He is bound to see that the bishops are not reduced to mere shadows, but remain really and substantially the spiritual rulers of their flocks.

It will be urged no doubt, against this explanation, that these safeguards are nugatory as long as the Papal judgment is uncontrolled by higher earthly authority. But they are not nugatory. It is no more possible in the Church than in the State for the supreme power to overstep the bounds of its rightful authority without at once encountering most effectual checks, legitimate as well as illegitimate. Indeed, usurpation is far less possible in the supreme authority of the Church than in that of the State. Moral force, the only force intrinsic to the Pontificate, ceases to be available in proportion as it is required to sanction what is wrong. Moreover, beyond human there is Divine control, the special providence vouchsafed to the Church in general, and, in the interest of the Church, most particularly to its Supreme Head. Even with all these preventive agencies, there may still be, and no doubt have been, abuses and usurpations in detail at different times; but there has been no radical disfigurement

of the features impressed upon the ecclesiastical organism by its Divine Founder. As for the particular disfigurement which it is alleged to have suffered, the degradation of the local episcopate, the charge is one which Anglicans of all people should refrain from making. If there are any in this country who are not bishops in the ancient sense of the word because their power is so unsubstantial, it is not those who hold office under Leo the Thirteenth. The Popes have always maintained that the authority of the bishops finds in that of the Popes its indispensable bulwark. Does not history, even modern history, justify the contention? The Catholic bishops are real rulers, men who legislate and govern, men whom their subjects are constrained to obey. Of what others can the same be said? Either they are the servants of the secular power as in England and Russia; or else the servants of those over whom they are supposed to be set, as in the American Episcopalian communities.

II.

Now that the indictment has been reduced to its proper dimensions, we see that it has broken down already before the evidence offered in the last article. None was there offered which did not go to show that the Popes claimed, and were allowed to have, the right not merely to exercise moral influence but to command, and that the right was understood to rest not on the special circumstances under which the nation was converted but on the Divine appointment by which the Popes were set over the Church Universal. On this evidence we might absolutely be content to rest, but the point is of so much importance that it is desirable to pursue it further, and meet the indictment on the ground taken up in the passage from Lord Selborne which heads the present article.

Towards the close of the sixth century, one Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus, made a collection of the Canons of Ecclesiastical Councils. Its substance was drawn from Greek sources, which the compiler translated into Latin. To these he added the Canons of Sardica and of the African Church; also, a little later, a second part, comprising the genuine decretals of the Roman Pontiffs from Siricius (A.D. 386) to Anastasius the Second (A.D. 498). The decretals of subsequent Popes were added by later hands. This collection, although it was highly prized, had no authority as such; it did not become strictly

authoritative even under the form known as the Hadriana, in which it was sent by Hadrian the First to Charlemagne (A.D. 773). Besides the Dionysian in its two forms, there were several similar collections by private compilers. The Hispanica is the only one of them which needs to be mentioned. As its name implies it was of Spanish origin, and although not really composed by St. Isidore of Seville, it was for some unknown reason associated with his name. These collections, the substance of which is genuine, held the ground exclusively till the middle of the ninth century. At that time there appeared for the first time in Eastern France, in the province of Rheims (as is now pretty generally recognized), a far fuller collection than any which had preceded. It bore the name of Isidore Mercator (or Peccator, in some manuscripts). As it was understood to have been brought into Eastern France from Spain by Ricalph, Archbishop of Mayence, and as the Collectio Hispanica forms a portion of its contents, there can be little doubt that this name of Isidore Mercator was prefixed in order that the authority of St. Isidore of Seville might appear to attach to the whole. On account of this superscription the unknown writer is generally called the Pseudo-Isidore. The only portion of his collection with which we are concerned is the section which contains a series of Decretal Letters attributed to the earlier Bishops of Rome, from St. Peter down to St. Sylvester who reigned in the first half of the fourth century.

It is on these letters that our controversy turns. They continually affirm the Popes to be the Supreme Rulers of the Church, and trace back the Divine origin of their authority to the primacy conferred by our Lord upon St. Peter. In virtue of this authority, these early Popes are made to issue various prescriptions of the most definite kind, the main purpose of which is to secure the bishops against oppression, and to make their removal by the local authorities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, as difficult as possible. The general tendency of the supposed legislation is to reserve to the Holy See the final determination of all causes relating to bishops. Febronius⁵ catalogues the following nine principles as attributable to these Decretals, in which they are frequently enunciated : (1) That

⁵ *De Statu Ecclesia*, by Justinus Febronius, i.e. the Baron de Hontheim, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Treves. This work created a great stir in France at the time of its publication, which was in A.D. 1763. It was written in the interest of extreme Gallicanism, and is the repertory whence Janus and his Anglican sympathisers draw most of their material. But it is not to their credit that they so completely ignore the Anti-Febronius of Zaccaria, a most masterly work.

the Pope is Bishop of the Universal Church; (2) that all "greater causes" must be referred to the Apostolic See for decision; (3) that among greater causes those relating to Bishops are to be reckoned; (4) that no Councils, not even Provincial, can be held without the authority of the Pontiff; (5) that the Decrees of all Councils need his confirmation in order to acquire binding force; (6) that it belongs to him and to him alone to translate bishops from see to see; (7) that all without distinction who feel themselves oppressed by subordinate authority are free to appeal to his judgment; (8) that until the pallium has been received it is not lawful for a Metropolitan to exercise episcopal functions; (9) that it is not lawful for members to dissent from the customs of the Apostolic See. After giving this list Febronius concludes:

If these principles are taken into account, put together, and accepted as true, who can fail to conclude that the Roman Pontiff is a monarch, and the bishops his mere ministers? And this is what Gratian has concluded, saying that the bishops are called only to a portion of the care (of the Churches), the Pope to the plenitude of power. . . .⁶

The collection of Pseudo-Isidore was at once accepted in the neighbourhood of its origin, and it was to these parts that its circulation was for a long time mostly confined. The Popes, whether from non-acquaintance with it, or else because they entertained suspicions about its authenticity, made the slightest possible use of its contents till A.D. 1049, when Leo the Ninth ascended the throne. Leo was of French origin, to which probably we should attribute the fact that he frequently appeals to these *Decretals*. In the twelfth century they were incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum*, the first attempt at a systematic codification of the Canon Law. The effect of this was to give them at once a universal currency.

It is not surprising, and certainly not matter for blame, that they should have been accepted with such ease at a time when the state of criticism was low and its apparatus defective. But in the sixteenth century the Magdeburg Centuriators pronounced them to be spurious, and now-a-days no one would be found absurd enough to think otherwise. The letters abound in anachronisms, and are besides mere mosaics, made out of passages from the known writings of later Popes and Fathers of the Church, as well as out of the Canons of Councils. We can

⁶ Op. cit. c. iii. § 9, n. 10.

even assign within the narrowest limits the time and place of their composition. It is almost certain that they were composed within the years A.D. 845 and A.D. 857, and that they were published in the province of Rheims.⁷

It is acknowledged that these Decretals are spurious. They cannot therefore of themselves impart authority to the legislation which they propound. If the existing constitution of the Catholic Church has no other and better foundation on which to rest, it is condemned. Here is the issue clearly defined at last. Of course the way to deal with it is by examining the ecclesiastical conditions of the previous ages. It is, however, obviously impossible to do this in a comprehensive manner within the limits of an article, and fortunately such a comprehensive examination is not essential. It is enough to fix our attention upon a single period, provided it be distinctly earlier than that of the Decretals. If it yields to the inquiry evidence that "the monarchical system" was already in possession, the charge we are opposing at once drops, and we are relieved from all necessity of dealing directly with the Decretals. This is the course we propose to take. It must however be borne in mind that we are not bound to discover in the earlier age all the nine points of discipline which have been transcribed from Febronius. The authority must be distinguished from its exercise. We are bound, if we would save our case, to show that the recognition of the authority was more ancient, but, this done, it would not matter if we were compelled to admit that the legislation ascribed to it was of later date. Nevertheless, it is not on the whole necessary to concede even this.

St. Gregory the Great lived two centuries and a half before the fabrication of the False Decretals, and one and a half before the "Donation of Pepin," the event to which Lord Selborne attributes the origin of the Temporal Power. He was also the Pontiff from whom our nation received, along with the faith, its first notions of the relation of the Papacy to the Church. He is again a Pontiff whose studious care not to enlarge his own office by encroaching on the rights of others has caused him to be misinterpreted and claimed as an ally by Anglicans and those who think with them. "What was afterwards called the Papal system, when first proclaimed in words only, was repudiated with horror by that best and greatest of Popes, Gregory

⁷ We may refer the reader for fuller information to an article on the False Decretals in *THE MONTH* for March, 1881, pp. 354, seq.

the Great.”⁸ If then it can be demonstrated that under this Pope “the monarchical system” was already in assured possession and receiving unquestioned acknowledgment, we shall be entitled to claim that the adverse theory has broken down. Yet this is the only version of the facts which can be gathered by a conscientious reader from a study of the voluminous correspondence of St. Gregory.

It is noticeable that whilst Janus signalizes St. Gregory as the Pope by whom the Papal system on its first proclamation was repudiated with horror, Neander, a far more responsible writer, tells us that this same Pope “was governed by the conviction that on him, as the successor of St. Peter, devolved the care of the whole Church and its sovereign guidance; which, therefore, he believed himself authorized to extend over the Greek Church.”⁹ Even this is a grudging concession, as will be seen from the slight survey of his administration which we propose to give. We shall not stay to examine into the relations between St. Gregory and the provinces of Central and Southern Italy. It is these which probably constituted the *suburbicariæ diaconies* over which it is acknowledged that the Bishop of Rome was authorized to rule. But although his interference in the ecclesiastical government may possibly have been more frequent and intimate within this sphere, still his assertion of authority will be found to have been as firm and unhesitating elsewhere.

To the Metropolitan of Ravenna he sends a sharp rebuke.¹⁰ This prelate had misconducted himself in several respects, but in particular by presuming to wear his pallium at times to which the permission given did not extend. To a modern English reader such a matter may easily seem too trivial to need a serious remonstrance, and no doubt it would have been so, had not the pallium been the received symbol of the Papal power to rule over bishops, and of the concession of a share in it to others. Only the Pontiff could wear it at all times, because he alone possessed the power in its plenitude. The occasions when it might be worn by others were strictly defined, and to overstep the assigned limits was to make a constructive claim to more ample powers than had been accorded. When this is borne in mind, it appears at once how much such a case as that of the Metropolitan of Ravenna is to our purpose. Some pretensions

⁸ *Janus*, p. 83 (English Translation).

⁹ *General Church History*, vol. v. p. 150 (English Translation).

¹⁰ *Epist. l. iii. ep. 56* (54).

to an established precedent seem to have been urged in depreciation of the rebuke. Accordingly the Pope, ever scrupulously just, commissions his own notary Castorius to inquire into the circumstances, "in order that we may not deny to the same Church any ancient usage, or concede what has been attempted with unheard-of audacity."¹¹

The custom in Numidia was that the primacy should not be attached to any special see, but belong to the senior bishop of the province. The arrangement was bad, as tending often to place the burden of responsibility on shoulders unable to bear it. Gregory was anxious to effect a change, but the bishops implored him to desist. Their letter is not extant, but here is his answer.

Through our notary Hilary, you begged of our predecessor of blessed memory that all your ancient customs might be still preserved, seeing that they have been preserved without interruption ever since they were first established by the ordinances of Blessed Peter the Prince of the Apostles. And we, in conformity with your report, grant that the custom, so far as it is not found to require anything contrary to the Catholic faith, shall be kept unimpaired, both as regards the appointment of primates and the other points as well. However, if the order of succession should designate to the primacy those who were made bishops whilst yet Donatists, we forbid absolutely their elevation to that office.¹² . . .

That Gregory understood his rule to extend to Spain can be gathered from his letter to Leander, Bishop of Seville, to whom he also sends the pallium, using the sort of language to which we have become accustomed.

As a gift (*ex benedictione*) from Blessed Peter the Prince of the Apostles, we have sent you the pallium, to be worn only at the solemnity of the Mass. In sending it, I ought to admonish you how to live; but I suppress my words, because you anticipate them by your practice.¹³

The records of a still more striking exercise of authority over the Church of Spain are to be found among the Pontiff's letters. Gregory writes to John his "defensor," who was about to proceed to Spain, and bids him inquire into the case of two Spanish bishops, Januarius of Malaga, and Stephen, Bishop of an unnamed see. These had appealed against a sentence of deposition. If the sentence proved to have been unjust, the

¹¹ *Ibid.* l. vi. ep. 61 (33).

¹² *Ibid.* l. i. ep. 77 (75).

¹³ *Ibid.* l. ix. ep. 121 (126).

bishops intruded into their sees were to be deprived and excluded from all ecclesiastical ministry, and to be further imprisoned or sent to Rome. The bishops also who ordained the intruder were to be deprived of Holy Communion for six months, and made to do penance in a monastery. Januarius and Stephen, on the other hand, were to be completely reinstated.¹⁴

Passing from Spain to France, the difficulty is to select when so much is to the point. Vergilius of Arles is made by Gregory his "vicegerent in the churches belonging to the kingdom of our illustrious son Childebert, according to the ancient custom," but with the stipulation that "the dignity of the metropolitans shall be preserved to them." The pallium accompanies the appointment as a matter of course, and it is further stated that "if any one of the bishops should wish to travel a long distance, he is not to go to other districts without your authority." Also "if any question about the faith, or anything else, arises among the bishops which it is difficult to decide, let twelve bishops be collected to examine and discuss it. But if it cannot be decided after the discussion, it is to be referred to our judgment."¹⁵ There is a corresponding letter addressed "to all the bishops of the Gauls"¹⁶ who are under the rule of Childebert." It exhorts them to render obedience to Vergilius on all the points named. No one can read its language and dream for a moment that the Pontiff is speaking in any quality save that of an acknowledged superior. Later we find him addressing this same Vergilius of Arles, together with Syagrius of Autun, Aetherius of Lyons, and Desiderius of Vienne.¹⁷ Their attention is called to the prevalence of simony and other grave abuses, among them the neglect to hold synods. It finishes

¹⁴ *Ibid.* l. xiii. ep. 45 (52). It is right to say that some doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of this epistle (cf. *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* s. v. "Januarius of Malaga"). Nevertheless the evidence in its favour is strong. It is in all the best MSS., even in the Corbeil MS. which was brought there by Paul the Deacon towards the end of the eighth century (cf. *Pref. ad Epist. Greg.* in Migne's *Patres Latini*, vol. lxxvii, p. 440). If in spite of such good authority the reader should still be incredulous, let him at all events observe that the contents of the letter are quite in keeping with the Pope's conduct elsewhere, as our illustrations show.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* l. v. ep. 53 (50).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ep. 54 (52). Childebert's rule embraced nearly all the bishops of modern France. From the letter of Gregory to St. Augustine (cf. THE MONTH for July, 1888, p. 358) we learn that Vergilius had jurisdiction over absolutely all. The Bishops of Northern Gaul were not to be placed under St. Augustine, as this would be depriving the Bishop of Arles of rights bestowed on him by former Popes.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* l. ix. ep. 106 (111).

by ordering that a synod shall at once be held to inaugurate a reformation, and curiously enough, it is not the Bishop of Arles, but the Bishop of Autun whom he appoints to preside over it, although the latter was inferior in ecclesiastical rank even to the Bishop of Lyons.¹⁸

That our own islands in their entirety were considered by St. Gregory to lie within the sphere of his government, was sufficiently proved in the last article.¹⁹ All that is now required is to give to the fact its due acknowledgment, as contributory to the induction by which we are attempting to show that St. Gregory's claim was to the spiritual government of the entire world.

We come next to the province of Illyria. Here also we choose one case out of several. John, Bishop of Prima Justiniana, is made Papal Vicar for those parts, and all the Bishops of Illyria are to obey him.²⁰ But later on we find he has been guilty of the double fault of deposing Hadrian, Bishop of Thebes, in an uncanonical manner, and of persisting in the deposition even after appeal had been made to the Roman Pontiff. St. Gregory writes to him thus :

If, then, what has been reported to us is proved to be true, as we consider that you make your position as our vicegerent to be an occasion for presuming to act unjustly, with the help of Christ we shall, after deliberation, make other arrangements about this vicegerency. For the present, by the authority of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we cancel and annul the decrees which you have passed; and we order you to be deprived of the Holy Communion for the space of thirty days, that you may beg pardon of our Almighty God for your great offence with all penitence and tears. But if you shall be found to have been remiss in carrying out this our sentence, since your conduct will no longer be unjust only but also contumacious, know that it will receive a still severer punishment.²¹ . . .

The Bishop of Larissa, who was associated with the Bishop of Prima Justiniana in this act of oppression, was punished in a similar way.²²

Our investigation has now embraced every province of the Western world, and it is time to consider the still more crucial case of our Pontiff's attitude towards the Eastern patriarchates.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ep. 108 (113).

¹⁹ "All the priests of the Britains." See THE MONTH, July, 1888, loc. cit.

²⁰ *Epist. Greg.* I. ii. ep. 23 (8). ²¹ *Ibid.* I. iii. ep. 6. ²² *Ibid.* ep. 7.

We should not expect to find him interposing in the affairs of government so constantly and so intimately in the East as in the West. The patriarchs would not have been patriarchs, had not their powers been more extended than those of mere metropolitans and primates. What we ought to find if the "monarchical system" was then in existence, and what we ought not to find if it was an outcome of the False Decretals, is that St. Gregory held the patriarchs to be his subjects, and revised their acts in extreme cases; also that his claims met with recognition, though not necessarily with invariable obedience. And this is just what we do find. From a letter to John, Bishop of Syracuse, we have a formal statement of the fact.

As to what they say about the Church of Constantinople, who is there that doubts about its subjection to the Apostolic See? as the most pious Sovereign the Emperor and our brother the Bishop of that city assiduously profess.²³

With the theory corresponds the practice. Two most striking illustrations offer themselves. First, there is the case of a certain Athanasius. This monk-priest belonged to Isauria in Asia Minor, and therefore to the Eastern patriarchate. An heretical book was found in his possession, and, either on this account or on this pretext, he was beaten with rods at Constantinople by a member of the patriarchal household. So to treat a priest was a violation of the sacred canons. Accordingly Athanasius appealed to Rome. St. Gregory writes to him :

In order that the integrity of your faith might appear, you chose to have recourse to the Apostolic See, over which we preside, stating that if you had acted unlawfully and violently in some respects, it was because you were corporally chastised.²⁴

The Pope goes on to say that he has examined the book, and finds it to be really heretical; that accordingly he must forbid Athanasius to read it again; but that as the proof given by the latter of the purity of his faith and the purity of his intention is sufficient, he (Gregory) pronounces them to be orthodox, "and gives him free leave to return to his monastery (to be reinstated) in his proper place and station." This was to reverse the sentence of the Patriarch. The Patriarch, John the

²³ *Ibid.* l. ix. ep. 12 (64).

²⁴ *Ibid.* l. vi. ep. 66 (74).

Faster, was crafty and contumacious. When summoned by Gregory to state his case against Athanasius, he tried to fence, and professed ignorance of the whole affair. Gregory wrote accordingly to Narses, the patrician, one of his friends at the Court of the Emperor Maurice, a letter in which he says that he will investigate the case thoroughly.

And if I find that the canons are not observed at the bidding of the Apostolic See (*sedi apostolice canones non servari*) Almighty God will show me how to treat those who contemn Him.²⁵

The Patriarch, however, thought better of his conduct, and sent in his statement. The result has been narrated. As he submitted, the Patriarch was not personally punished, but his sentence on Athanasius was reversed.

The other case which we submit is the famous one of the assumption by this same John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, of the title of Universal Bishop. It is strange that Anglicans should be so fond of it, for its history is a striking proof that the faith of St. Gregory and of his age was not theirs. Gregory disliked the title, as he disliked all high-sounding titles. They savoured of the pride against which those in authority should be continually on the watch. They were inconsistent with the principles on which to his mind the distinction between ruler and subject was based. In his *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* he gives an exposition of this point which throws great light on the controversy.

It is clear that nature has begotten all men equal, but as they differ in the degree of their merit, guilt has caused some to be inferior to others. For this inequality, which is the outcome of sin, provision has been made by the Divine judgment, and as every man is not equally able to stand, one is ruled by another. Wherefore all who are in authority should consider in themselves, not the power which belongs to office, but the equality of (our common) condition; nor should they rejoice in their superiority, but in the services they can render.²⁶

There was a further objection which Gregory found in the pretentious title. It seemed to him to imply not merely superiority of rule, but exclusiveness of rule. If one bishop was universal, none other could be a bishop at all. Such an objection to the title may seem to us hypercritical. Certainly the words can bear a more innocent meaning, and signify not exclusive but only supreme rule. It was thus they were

²⁵ *Ibid.* l. iv. ep. 32 (64).

²⁶ P. ii. c. 6.

obviously understood by the Popes who in later days adopted them as a part of their own style. It was thus that John the Faster must have understood them when, with the hyperbole in which Orientals delight, he applied them to himself. Still, that Gregory would only admit of the more objectionable construction as legitimate, is a fact that cannot be gainsayed. If it could, how explain his own conduct in the affair? When he writes to John, he writes with all his own exquisite humility. He prefers to persuade rather than to command, to convince rather than to punish. Still, his letter is the rebuke of a superior, not the protest of an equal. His language is that of one who "knows not what bishop is not subject to the Apostolic See."²⁷ Here are his words, in his letter to John the Faster:

On account of this affair (the adoption of the title of Universal Bishop) grave letters were sent to your Holiness by my predecessor, Pelagius, of holy memory. A synod had been convoked to consider the case of our late brother and fellow-bishop, Gregory. By these letters he (Pelagius) cancelled the acts of the synod because the proud and wicked word was used in them: and he also forbade the arch-deacon, whom he had sent according to custom to attend the sovereigns, to celebrate Mass in your company. After his death, when I, though unworthy, was called to the government of the Church, first through my Responsales (*i.e.*, legates) and again lately through our common son and deacon, Sabinianus, I endeavoured, not indeed by letter, but by word of mouth, to induce your fraternity to abstain from such presumptuous conduct. Also, if you should refuse to amend, I forbade him to celebrate the Mass with your fraternity, in order that I might first strike your holiness through the sense of shame, but with the intention that if this wicked and impious pride cannot be cured by shame, I may proceed to severe measures according to the canons.²⁸

There is a good deal of further correspondence concerning this question of the title, but enough for our purpose has been given. Here also we may conclude our description of the Pontiff's government. We have found it extending to every quarter of the Christian world, to the East and West alike. We have found it to include almost every exercise of authority which could be looked for in an ecclesiastical ruler. He marks out dioceses, and determines their hierarchical conditions. He

²⁷ "As to his (the Bishop of Bysacium's) saying that he is subject to the Apostolic See, I know not what bishop is not subject to it, if any fault be found in bishops. But when no fault requires it all are equal, according to the estimation of humility." *Ibid.* l. ix. ep. 59 (65).

²⁸ *Ibid.* l. v. ep. 18 (38).

prescribes the holding of synods, and at his discretion annuls their acts. He receives appeals from other bishops, and revises their judgments. He deposes bishops whom he deems guilty, and restores those whom he considers to have been wrongly condemned. He is the judge of faith, and requires that the more difficult questions which concern it should not be definitively settled in the provinces, but referred to the Apostolic See for decision. Such is the Papal office, as understood by the first Pope to which the English Church rendered allegiance. If such a system is not monarchical, we may well ask what else is required in order to entitle it to bear this name.

There is indeed an evasion to which some have had recourse. It has been urged that the letters of the Popes give the ideal which the Popes were endeavouring to realize, but do not prove the acceptance of the ideal on the part of the Church. It is acknowledged that the formation of the ideal in the minds of the Popes is very ancient, but it is claimed that the acceptance by the Church was most gradual, and was not obtained with any degree of completeness till a date long subsequent to St. Gregory. But to argue like this is to show a strange incapacity to appreciate historical evidence. In former centuries pens were less ready than they are now, and a comparatively insignificant portion of what happened was recorded in any permanent form. Of that too which was recorded, but an insignificant portion has escaped the ravages of time. If we are to reproduce a faithful picture of the past, we must not confine ourselves to the direct statements in our documents. We must consider also what these imply. We must read not only on the lines, but through them and between them. We must cultivate a delicacy of sense which can catch the minuter shades of tone, and from the premisses thus obtained proceed by careful inference to the manifold conclusions which they involve. A very easy application of this principle to the letters of Pope Gregory is enough to prove that his theory of Papal power was that of his age. Had he been encountering opposition, his language would not have failed to reflect it. As it is, there is not a trace anywhere of suspicion that his principles in this respect differed from those generally entertained. To the use he was making of his authority, he does contemplate resistance. He is quite prepared to find that his commands are being evaded by crafty pretexts, by Imperial interference, by contumacious silence, by formal disobedience. His consciousness of all this is apparent

everywhere in his affectionate appeals, his indignant denunciations, his threats of canonical chastisement. But the legitimacy of his authority he feels to be a position which will not be challenged, and therefore one which he can press upon consciences and assume as a basis for his expostulations. Take, for instance, the passage quoted above from his letter about the Bishop of Bysacium. The Bishop pleads that he cordially acknowledges his subjection to the Apostolic See. St. Gregory's reply is in substance this : "What is the use of his laying stress on that? Of course he does: there is not a bishop in the Church (except schismatics) who would not say the same." The only fair inference from language thus toned is one which recognizes the Pope's belief in his power to have been shared by his contemporaries.

III.

The purpose of this article is now attained. It is clear that the False Decretals cannot have had the effect on the ecclesiastical fabric which has been imputed to them. They cannot have introduced a system which two centuries and a half before their first publication had already struck deep root in the soil of Christendom. Here then we might absolutely stop. Still it will be more satisfactory to consider briefly the Decretals in themselves, and learn whether they can supply, as the Unity of Truth would lead us to expect, some confirmatory evidence of the conclusion arrived at.

In Pseudo-Isidore there is very little of any moment which is original. His fraud consists in assigning the language of a later period to writers of an earlier one. The letters which he attributes to the Popes of the first three centuries are mosaics formed out of passages extracted from the genuine decretals of Popes from St. Siricius (A.D. 386) downward, from the Canons of Councils, the writings of the Fathers, and other sources belonging mostly to the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Thus, the famous phrase, "that in the Pope resides the plenitude of power, whilst the other bishops are called only to a portion of the solicitude" (for the Churches), is taken bodily from a letter of St. Leo the Great²⁹ (A.D. 446, *circ.*), and put into the mouth of Vigilius (A.D. 537—555). In this case the genuine is older than the spurious authority. St. Leo is writing to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, his Vicar in Illyria, and he says : "The

²⁹ *Epist. Leonis M. ep. xiv. (xii.) c. 1.*

office of Vicar in our stead we have entrusted to you, dear brother, but so that you are called to a share in this solicitude, not to the plenitude of power." It is true that we have not here the affirmation of the principle in itself, still it is implied in the application made of it to a particular case. No one can read the letter through, especially its eleventh chapter, without perceiving that the sense in which Pseudo-Isidore understood the words is that of St. Leo himself. Again, the statement that all greater causes should be referred to the Apostolic See, is put by the forger into the mouth of St. Anacletus (A.D. 98—100), as also into those of several later but early Popes. It is taken *verbatim* from St. Innocent the First (A.D. 410), who, writing to Victoricus, Bishop of Rouen, says: "If any greater causes shall have been brought forward, let them, after episcopal judgment, be referred to the Apostolic See, as the Synod³⁰ and as blessed customs require." St. Leo also makes the same statement in the same words more than once,³¹ and we have already heard it from St. Gregory. These two propositions, which we have found in writers other indeed than the Popes to whom Pseudo-Isidore ascribes them, but much earlier than the age of the False Decretals, virtually include all the nine points given by Febronius, and cited above, as embodying the main features of the supposed revolution in the ecclesiastical system. It is not necessary therefore to show that the rest are similarly borrowed by the forger from previous writers of authority. This, however, could be done. The conclusion is obvious. In this single fact the Decretals bear witness to the antiquity of the system for which they are made responsible.

The same conclusion follows from the ready acceptance which they found. A transition from the condition of independent social units to that of a single universal monarchy would be a change of enormous magnitude. It is morally impossible that it would take place without exciting violent commotions. Nations do not readily give up customs and liberties which they have enjoyed through centuries. Certainly the Franks were not the sort of race from which we should expect such unusual tractability. Still more inconceivable does the alleged resolution appear when we remember in what manner the new Codex

³⁰ Of Nicæa, that is Sardica (A.D. 343). The Canons of Sardica were not distinguished from those of Nicæa in the Codex used by the Pontiff. For the letter to Victoricus, see Migne *Patr. Lat.* xx. p. 472.

³¹ Ep. v. c. 6; vi. (iv.) c. 5; xiv. (xii.) c. 7.

sprang into life. It is not as if it had been ushered in by the supreme authority with a powerful ecclesiastical or civil force behind it. The opinion which attributes its origin to the Popes is now abandoned by every one. It was composed in some province of Eastern France, and its first appearance was due to its chance discovery, real or reputed, in the depths of an episcopal library. The Popes did not even take it up with any alacrity; for the charge of "having eagerly seized upon the decretals to be used as genuine documents in support of the new claims," cannot be substantiated against Nicolas the First, and it has not even been made against his successors of the two nearest centuries. We are to suppose then that this extensive surrender of their most radical liberties by the local Churches was due to the mere perusal of a mysterious book, which was brought to light suddenly and without any extrinsic authentication. Surely it is incredible!

It is no answer to this reasoning to urge that the age, in its lack of critical ability, was completely at the mercy of such a fraud. When their cherished interests are attacked, men are not so logical in their conduct, or so unbiassed. They look about for grounds on which to base a justification of their resistance, and they usually contrive to find some plausible enough to be advanced. The history of these *Decretals* itself supplies an illustration of this disposition. Hincmar of Rheims, the Archbishop in whose province they first appeared, and one of the first to manifest acquaintance with them, appears to have used the letters on several occasions without suspicion.³² But after a while they were quoted against him by one of his suffragans, Rothade, Bishop of Soissons. Rothade had been deposed from his bishopric by a Council over which Hincmar presided, and had appealed to Rome against the sentence. He based his appeal on the doctrine of the *Decretals* that all episcopal causes must be referred to Rome for definitive settlement. Hincmar and his suffragans found the plea most distasteful, and they recorded their protest against it in a letter to Pope Nicolas.³³ They do not, however, base their opposition on the suspicious character of the *Decretals*: still less on any repudiation of Papal Supremacy. Such notions evidently did

³² See Bull *Quamvis Singularium* (A.D. 865) of Nicolas the First, who rebukes the bishops of the Province of Rheims for their inconsistency.

³³ The letter is not extant, but its contents can be gathered from the Bull *Quamvis Singularium*, which is in answer to it.

not enter into their heads as conceivable. They allow that the greater causes are to be referred to the Pope, but will not recognize that the deposition of a suffragan bishop is a greater cause. When the False Decretals are urged against them, they reply that these Decretals are not found in any Codex of Canons which had acquired authority from its use in the Church, as was the case with the Codex Hadrianus. It was easy for St. Nicolas to demolish this feeble argument. He writes back to say that the authority of a Papal Decree is intrinsic to it, and in no wise dependent on the accident of its incorporation in a particular Collection. If these bishops could rely on so frail a reed, rather than resign themselves to an unpleasant innovation, the inference from their peaceful acceptance of the disciplinary arrangement of the Decretals in general and of its doctrine about the monarchical constitution of the Church, is no longer open to doubt. Evidently they found nothing in these matters to which they were not already accustomed. In fact, Hincmar says so expressly, over and over again, in his letters to Pope Nicolas on the subject of Rothade's deposition. For instance, we find him saying :

It never entered into my heart to transgress the rights of the Apostolic See and its rulers, to whom, ever since I can remember, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I have ever shown myself faithful and devoted, humble and submissive, as with God's help I will ever remain.³⁴

We have a third argument to the same effect from the purpose which the forger sought to obtain by his fraud. Other writers, like Febronius, Theiner, and Eichhorn, used to maintain that the end in view was that very aggrandizement of the Papal power which is alleged to have resulted. But no one, at least no responsible writer, can maintain that theory any longer. It received a crushing blow as soon as it became certain that France, not Rome, was the place of origin, and that for a long time the Popes are not chargeable with having availed themselves to any appreciable extent of the promising materials. But besides this, a more careful examination of the text of the Decretals has made it quite clear that the writer's object corresponds with that which he has professed in his Preface.

In order that, as the Church's disciplinary ordinances have now been brought together by us and reduced to order, holy prelates may

³⁴ *Hincmar Epist. n. 11, sub fin.*

be trained in the rules of the Fathers, and the obedient ministers of the Church, together with the people, may be nourished with spiritual examples and not deceived by the depravity of wicked men. For many urged on by their own depravity and avarice have *brought accusations against priests and oppressed them*. On this account the holy Fathers have made laws which they called holy canons. Many then accuse others in order that out of (the alleged guilt of) others they may manufacture an excuse for themselves and become enriched with the property of others. Meanwhile good Christian men are silent and submit to what they know to be the sins of others, because they often fail to find documents by which to prove to the ecclesiastical judges what they themselves know; for judges should not give credence, save to what is demonstrated by certain arguments, what is established by manifest proof, and what is made known according to the methods of judicial procedure. For no one, who has been deprived of his property, or driven out of his see by violence and threats, can be accused, summoned, judged and condemned according to the canonical prescriptions, until everything which has been taken away from him has first been legally restored, and he has for some while been left in the peaceful enjoyment of his dignities, and having been regularly restored to his own see, has for a considerable time been in the unrestrained possession of his office. . . .³⁵

This purpose of securing the clergy against accusations made in the interest of avarice which is avowed in the Preface, is stamped on the text from end to end. The criterion which has been applied to the statements of St. Gregory needs to be applied again here. There is no doubt plenty of assertion of Papal power throughout the text of the Decretals, but it is not this which the writer shows himself anxious to establish, it is not here that he reveals any consciousness of an adversary to be convinced or refuted. His true anxiety is to make out that there are laws in existence which if applied would put an end to the oppressions of the clergy, particularly of the bishops, under which his age and his locality were groaning. If he introduces the Papal power and makes frequent mention of its Divine origin, this is but as a means to his end. He is quite certain that his readers will accept his statement about the supreme office of the Popes; he is quite assured of the reverence with which they receive its commands; he feels that his best chance of gaining acceptance for the legislation which he has at heart is to make out that it has the sanction of that venerable authority. There can be no doubt

³⁵ *Isidori Prefatio*, Edit. Hinschii, p. 18.

that this is a true account of the purpose and standpoint of Pseudo-Isidore as revealed by the character and complexion of his own language.³⁶ But it is an account which can be justified only by a careful and comprehensive study of the text. Such a study has been made in the dry light of science by a mind which is singularly free from all controversial bias. We refer to Paul Hinschius, a German Protestant writer, whose edition of the False Decretals is by general acknowledgment the classical work on the subject. As we cannot expect Anglican readers to be convinced by our mere personal statements on a matter in dispute between us, we may avail ourselves of the passage in which Hinschius gives his verdict on the purpose of the Decretals.

Bearing in mind not only the councils and genuine decretals which Pseudo-Isidore has taken into his collection, but also the letters which he has fabricated, I conceive the design to have been this. He wished to publish not only a collection of ecclesiastical sources exhibiting the discipline of the Church as it is presented in each of the councils and in the genuine decretals, but also some decrees which he thought requisite to restore the ecclesiastical order which had been injured and almost destroyed by the civil wars under Louis the Pious and his sons. Thus then in the fictitious portion of his collection he desired to accomplish what the Synods of Paris in A.D. 829, of Aix in A.D. 836, of Meaux and Paris in A.D. 845 and A.D. 846, had not been able to do; and, what the several chapters in the books of the Council of Paris and of the Constitutions of Worms, as well as the book attached to the Synod of Aix confirm by quotations from the ancient Fathers, what Benedict (the Levite) declared to be drawn from the capitularies (of Charles and Louis, &c.)—this he (Pseudo-Isidore) *has corroborated with the highest authority which was in the Church, that of the Roman Pontiffs*, and even of those who lived in the first ages of the Church. He saw the wounds of the Gallican Church inflicted upon it during the turbulent times of Louis the Pious and his sons, he saw that Louis the Pious had come to the aid of the ruined Church with the greatest zeal, and that the bishops assembled at the Council of Meaux had enacted many canons for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, but he knew also that the zeal and endeavours of the emperor and of the bishops had been rendered fruitless chiefly by the opposition of the nobles. Wherefore taking all this into consideration, he fabricated statutes by which he

³⁶ This is the judgment of the Ballerini, of Zaccaria, Phillips, Walter, &c. Hinschius dissents from it in part, in so far as he attributes to the forger the vaster aim of exhibiting a complete system of ecclesiastical discipline. There is force in his contention. But the diversity of view seems removable by distinguishing the general plan and the particular portion of it which the forger had at heart. There can be no doubt that it is the protection of the episcopate which he has at heart.

desired to obtain the removal of the causes which had hitherto disturbed the Church, in the hope that if he held up as a mirror to the men of his age decrees exhibiting the laws observed in the most ancient Christian Churches, they would be induced at last to reform the state of ecclesiastical affairs.³⁷

It will be observed that according to this writer's judgment, there was no solicitude on the part of the forger to vindicate the Papal office : the only anxiety was to invoke its authority in favour of the legislation which he desired to introduce. But this is to imply that the Supremacy was acknowledged with an undoubting faith which it must have taken centuries to form.

IV.

In the passage quoted at the head of this article, the Temporal Power is put down as a concurrent cause of the supposed transformation of the Primacy into the Papacy. The origin of the Temporal Power is assigned by Lord Selborne to the Donation of Pepin, which took place in A.D. 755. This statement might be challenged and a somewhat earlier date claimed, for Pepin did not give, but restore, to the Popes their sovereignty ; that is to say, he forced the Lombard sovereign to restore what he had unlawfully annexed to his own dominions. We need not, however, concern ourselves with this historical controversy. In any case the Temporal Power is more recent than the age of Gregory the Great. It cannot therefore have contributed to the introduction of the Papal system, which we have found already in possession under that Pontiff. The real truth is, that the Temporal Power was the outcome of the Papacy. It was a tribute to the Papacy. It was because the Popes were the supreme rulers of the Catholic Church, that it seemed suitable for them to be independent sovereigns even in the temporal order. This comes out very clearly in the whole history of the interposition of Pepin and Charlemagne on their behalf. It was the reverence of these princes for the Head of the Church which induced them to place their swords at his service, and made them take a special pride in the title of Patricians of the Romans, which they received from the Holy See in testimony of its gratitude. There is surely sufficient assertion of the Supremacy in the famous letter written by Pope Stephen the Second to Pepin and his barons, urging them to return and

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. ccxvii.

punish the Lombard King, who had proved faithless to his engagements, so recently entered into. Stephen puts his appeal into the mouth of the Apostle, St. Peter.

Peter, called to the apostleship by Jesus Christ, Son of the living God . . . and through me the entire Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, the Head of all the Churches of God . . . to you most excellent princes Pepin, Charles and Charlemagne, kings; as also to the holy bishops, abbots, . . . dukes, counts, and all the Frank armies and people . . . Beyond doubt your hope of future reward is bound up with this Apostolic Roman Church of God committed to us. Wherefore I Peter, Apostle of God, look upon you as my adopted children, and by the love which you bear to me, I exhort and conjure you to deliver my city of Rome, my people, and that Church in which I repose according to the flesh . . . For they suffer great afflictions and oppressions from the Lombards . . . It is well known that among all the nations under the heavens the Franks have manifested the greatest attachment to me, Peter the Apostle. Therefore have I through my vicar pointed you out as the deliverer of that Church which the Lord has confided to me. . . .³⁸

Some modern writers, not intelligent enough to distinguish between a deliberate fraud and a rhetorical device, have taken scandal at the terms of this document. But it awoke the anticipated echo in the hearts of those to whom it was addressed. Another expedition was undertaken on behalf of the oppressed Pope, the keys of the cities were recovered from the usurper, and, with manifest reference to the terms of the letter, were placed by Pepin's order on the tomb of St. Peter.

Of course the reasoning which we have been employing does not amount to a direct proof of the Divine origin of the Papacy. Were that in question, it would have been necessary to carry back the historical inquiry into the ages preceding St. Gregory, and also to deal with the Scriptural evidence. But an absolute vindication of the Papacy has not been intended. There has been no intention (at least no direct intention) to prove that the constitution of the ancient Church of England was such as our Lord ordained. The reader may, if he pleases, assume for the moment that it was not. Our subject-matter has been "The alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism," that is to say, the claim of modern Anglicanism to be in continuity with the ancient Church of England. Let us repeat again, by way of conclusion, what has already been said more than once. To disprove this claim it

³⁸ Ap. *Cod. Carol.* t. i. p. 99. Ed. Cenni.

is not necessary to show that Anglicanism is in the wrong or that the ancient Church was in the right, but only that the essential principles of the two systems are different and radically opposed ; in other words, that the change wrought during the period of transition was a change in essentials, not accidentals. So far there is no controversy between us and those we are opposing.³⁹ But what are the essentials of the ancient system : those which were so considered by the ancient Church itself, or those which are so considered by modern Anglicans ? Anglicans are in the habit of assuming the second of these alternatives to be the true determining principle. But the assumption is quite without warrant. Indeed, they themselves betray an instinctive consciousness of its invalidity, when they descend into the arena of historical inquiry and endeavour to show that our forefathers were of the same mind with themselves as to the nature of the Papacy. If the principle were really sound, all appeal to history would be superfluous. It would be of no consequence (as far as continuity is concerned) what our forefathers believed. This principle is also one which will cut two ways. If it can be employed by Anglicans against the English Catholics, it can be equally well employed against Anglicans by Nonconformists. Why may not these go further and say : "I do not think episcopacy to be essential, therefore I may lop it off without forfeiting my right to share in the splendid spiritual heritage bequeathed to me by my ancestors" ? Anglicans could scarcely offer a more convenient weapon to the growing battalions of the Liberationists, if the latter were disposed to accept it. It is in fact essentially a principle for the use of the big battalions, but scarcely one which, when stripped of its garments and exhibited in its naked brutality, will commend itself to a lover of justice. It is certainly not a principle which in a case of property would find much recognition in an English law-court. We have claimed therefore to desert it, and to be governed, not by the beliefs of Anglicans, but by those of our ancestors. These we have investigated so far as they turn on the one point which is the most radical of all, and therefore involves the whole question of Church status : acknowledgment of the Papacy. The reader must now judge whether our case has not been made out to demonstration ; whether it has not been placed beyond doubt that the ancient Church at all times regarded union with

³⁹ *Defence &c.*, p. 85. The passage was quoted in our first article. (*THE MONTH*, April, 1888, p. 459.)

the Papacy to be an essential condition of Church status, and whether the Papacy in which it believed was not from the time of St. Augustine to that of Henry the Eighth, a Papacy invested with Supremacy, not a mere Primacy of honour; and, in consequence, whether Anglicanism and the ancient Church of England are not wholly discontinuous.

What then is to be the ulterior conclusion? If a man is no believer in the doctrine of a visible and authoritative Church, he may no doubt say: "I grant that Anglicanism is a mere child of the Reformation. Nevertheless, I shall continue to adhere to it, for it represents the Truth, which the ancient system did not." But this position is not intelligible in those (and there are many in England) who do believe that our Lord founded a Church with the indefeasible right to teach, and that He endowed it with attributes which must secure it through all time in the faithful delivery of its message. The voice of such a Church as this can hardly be recognized in that of a religious community isolated from the rest of the Catholic world, and unable to trace its parentage further back than the sixteenth century.

S. F. S.

Fra Ildefonso's Guest.

FRA ILDEFONSO one spring evening stood
Without the convent gate, and felt it good
To watch the shadows steal with subtle grace
Across the pavement of the market-place.
The great cathedral's shadow lay before
The good man's eyes, and made upon the floor
A silhouette of nave and roof and spire,
Which, as the sun sank lower, mounted higher,
Until there stole to Ildefonso's side
The shadow of the cross.

"And thus," he cried,
"Thy Cross, O Lord, o'ershadows everything,
And the wide world is covered by Thy wing !
Praise to Thy Name!"

Then, while the light still burned
Upon the far-off hills, the good man turned
Within the gates and in his lodge sat down,
Hearing meanwhile the murmur of the town,
That like the hum of insects in the shade
Came from the streets where happy children played,
And made fit concord with the silent prayer
Which Ildefonso formed as he sat there.

For 'twas the good man's habit every day
Within his porter's lodge to wile away
The evening hours in meditation deep
Upon his Lord, that haply he might keep
Less worthy thoughts from out his secret mind.
Upon this night he thought :

“ One thing I find,
And only one, in all I know of Him
Whose Light fills all the world and ne'er grows dim,
Which I should like to alter, and 'tis this :
That I might have the great, ineffable bliss
Of seeing Him ! Oh, that I had but been
Some humble Jew or lowly Nazarene
In those days when the Eastern land he trod
'Mongst those who in His Person saw not God !
Am I doing wrong in longing for a sight
Of Him whose Face I see by Faith's great light ?
Ah, Lord, I trust to see Thee in that day
When earth and time shall both have passed away,
And Thou Thyself shalt make Thy children blest
Because Thy glory shall be manifest.
And yet I long all day to see Thy Face,
And think full oft how this poor, humble place
Would be transformed into a court of Heaven
If Thy dear Presence to it once were given !
Well, thanks to Thee, one comfort still is mine :
I know Thee near in Sacrament Divine !
And if aught troubles me or brings me low,
To seek Thy Feet I have not far to go ;
And howe'er sad I am, my sadness flies
When I behold Thy Presence with Faith's eyes.
I will go now, and at Thy Altar pray,
And speak with Thee.”

But as he turned away

There came a ringing at the convent bell ;
And Ildefonso said : " I know full well
That this is one who rings from want and need
And seeks a night's repose ; because, indeed,
'Tis only beggars ring so modestly."

Then, opening wide the door that he might see
Who rang the bell, the good man saw outside
A beggar, gaunt, and starved, and hollow-eyed,
Who looked as though the world had used him ill
For many days, and tossed him at its will
About its byways.

Ildefonso said :

" Come in, good man ; for thee is board and bed.
Thou seem'st as one whose need is great, and we,
Who serve the Master, have a place for thee."

Therewith he brought the weary man a chair,
And made swift haste to place the convent fare
Before him on the table, all the while
Thinking unto himself with happy smile
How good a thing it is to serve God's poor,
And how God's glory is increased the more
By little acts of charity that flow
From out the heart.

And, while he pondered so,
The stranger rose, and blessed and brake the bread ;
And suddenly around his toil-worn head
A halo came, and all the place grew bright
With radiance that was not of earthly light !
Fra Ildefonso, falling on his knees,

Heard a voice say : " In doing it unto these
Ye do it unto Me. Thou wishest well
To see Me on this earth ; but when the bell
Tells thee some beggar stands outside the door
Know it is I, in person of My poor."

Fra Ildefonso raised his reverent head,
And lo ! the Lord had blessed him and was fled.

J. S. FLETCHER.

The Old Philosophy in its bearings on Evolution.

IN our last paper we pointed out the obvious consistency with which Peripatetic philosophy can claim two distinct principles, a body and a soul, for nature's chief handiwork. For it maintains the existence of a dual principle in all material substances, constituting a very real though not the most absolute unity. Although the soul of man is vastly superior to all the other forms that enter into material substances, it is but the ultimate term of a series, the crowning point of a structure, whose foundations are as wide as visible creation. In the series there are gradations, gaps, if you will; but gaps that indicate the order of design, not a chaos of heterogeneous units. Considering the essential opposition of this doctrine to a materialistic conception of man, we saw in general a relation existing between all substances composed of matter, but into the precise nature of that relation we did not inquire.

We are now going to put the question, Does the Peripatetic theory consider such a relation to be a mere analogy, or does it favour the idea that it is (so to speak) a historic fact? Is there any connection between different classes of substance as to their origin? Have they been naturally evolved one from the other?

From whatever standpoint (and there are many of them) we consider this subject, it seems to be in a state of almost inextricable confusion. It is but two years since Mr. Herbert Spencer wrote two articles on *The Factors of Organic Evolution*,¹ in the beginning of which he complained that "most naturalists are more Darwinian than Darwin himself," and at the end he remarked "that it is yet far too soon to close the inquiry concerning the causes of organic Evolution." Of course he does not intend to rebuke himself. And yet who has made more sweeping and dogmatic assertions about it than this apostle of

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, April and May, 1886.

Evolution? Has he not pushed forward the theory in the interests of materialism, often crudely and with manifest exaggeration, always with unrelenting defiance? It is some relief that at length he counsels moderation—if only to be practised by his followers. It is true that the theory of Evolution has seized on the scientific imagination as perhaps none other has since the suggestion of gravitation in the *Principia* of Newton. Evolution has not only given us a new biology. It is to revolutionize many sciences. It is to account for much more even than pertains to geology or anthropology. It is to explain all the phenomena of the social and the moral world, nor is religion any more than ethics or political economy to escape its kindly aid. This planet of ours is far too small for the exercise of its efficacy. The latest attempt to extend the principle of Evolution has been made by Mr. Norman Lockyer, who has just been applying it, as he himself explains,² to the origin of heavenly species. The universal order of things is portrayed as a vast Juggernaut, impelled by blind fate, and in its advance crushing the freedom and dignity of man, our faith, God, everything, in a word, but matter and the motion of matter.

When a theory fraught with vital issues, and, moreover, seeming to circumscribe the opportunity for the exercise of creative power, is applied so absurdly and nefariously, it is little wonder that the distinction between the principles involved and the application of them is frequently forgotten. "As fire drives out fire, one nail another," so in matters of speculation, one extreme is often the remedy called in to cure another extreme. It seems to us that those who are jealous for the interests of religion are too much alarmed at the very name of Evolution. Surely just because it tends to substitute secondary causes for the direct action of the Creator, there is, to a philosophical mind, a distinct presumption in its favour. Physical science deals with second causes, and its whole history has been a tendency to attribute to natural laws what was supposed to be due to the finger of God working solely and apart from law. Is there not a marked contrast between our views of thunderstorms and earthquakes and those of our remote ancestors? The religious-minded of to-day believe that such events are, as to their effects, under the control of an Infinite Wisdom; but

² See an address read before the Royal Society, last November, *On the Spectrum of Meteors.*

who would now contend that they are due to the miraculous and cataclysmic intervention of a supernatural cause? In like manner geology and astronomy provide a natural causation for the state of the earth's crust, and the movements of the heavenly bodies, which used to be attributed to Divine, or at least, to angelic influence. Again, medical and pathological science will probably explain many a phenomenon which struck awe into our forefathers as quite beyond the powers of nature.

Therefore when a hypothesis is presented by men of science, which can be shown to be reasonable, and which purports to bring under physical law facts which would be otherwise independent of such law, and if it is, moreover, capable of reducing varied and previously unconnected phenomena to unity, such a hypothesis brings with it its own presumption—in the eyes of a mere philosopher³—that at least it contains important elements of truth.

But a mere presumption will not stand against positive argument. What then is the nature of the philosophical arguments brought forward by the adversaries of Evolution? Some of them, which are of an *a priori* character, and based on the nature of universal ideas, we must dismiss with a single remark. We do not believe that this question of biology can be settled by mere logic. It, like other physical matters, must be brought to the test of induction, and if some extreme realists find their views conflict with the conclusions of science, they would do well to reconsider them. Some have thought that the law of Causality clearly condemns Evolution in any shape, and this we shall deal with at some length. But the palmary and plausible objection brought against the theory is its want of demonstration. This appears to us, if we may say so, a little disingenuous. Any one who objects for preconceived

³ We do not intend to trench on theological ground. That the question has important theological bearings is of course evident, and the mistress of sciences will no doubt some day decide how far its own claims are reconcilable with Evolution. Meanwhile we do not think anything could better pave the way for such a decision than a clean-cut statement on the part of philosophy as to how far it considers the theory admissible, or at least, non-repugnant. We may be permitted to quote Father Faber, who will hardly be suspected of unwise leniency towards scientific novelties. "The theologian must beware of narrowness, the disease to which he is most subject, and must eschew that miserable haste of little minds to close questions which legitimate authority has left wide open. He should be one above other men who can take into his large heart, with genial sympathy rather than with critical distrust, the whole of the century in which he lives." These noble words are taken from *Bethlehem*, Second Edition, p. 318.

reasons to the principle of Evolution—and we are not speaking of any particular application of the principle, still less of any explanation of it, as the Darwinian theory of fortuitous natural selection (against which even Mr. Spencer has rather tardily rebelled)—such a one is at liberty to express his views. But if he professes to weigh its scientific evidence, he should do so fairly. Some of the opponents of Evolution are not able to do this, and to such we refer. Now the origin of species by organic Evolution does lay claim to evidence, but not, at least in the mouths of those best entitled to a hearing, to demonstration.

Its evidence is circumstantial evidence, cumulative arguments, converging probabilities, not mathematical proofs. It is a system, a harmony, a law, something more than a speculation, but very far short of a demonstrable proposition. It is undeniable that physical science differs from mathematics in the fineness of its border line between hypothesis and certainty. The transition is always gradual, and it is generally impossible to point out the moment when the line is passed. Who could have pointed out the moment when the Copernican system, the undulatory theory of light, or that of conservation of energy, were placed beyond reasonable doubt? Certainly, long before demonstration was reached, the tendencies were so strong in the direction of these theories, that men of long sight and balanced judgment felt that it was only a matter of time for them to be raised to the level of axioms, and were able to smile at the rough boldness of prejudice in persistently refusing to acknowledge their truth.

Is this the present position of Evolution? We do not say so. But it is easy to underrate the strength of its case: and, if it is strong and growing stronger; if it is more than a working hypothesis for biologists; if new evidence tells in its favour and little or none against it; if it is in harmony with certain laws of nature; if it is gaining ground with all classes of scientific men, and is, in their eyes, rapidly approaching the axiomatic stage; it would seem a fatal error on the part of Catholic philosophers to oppose it doggedly on the ground of insufficient demonstration. It may turn out to be true, and, in the present state of controversy, we have plenty to do to defend the truth, without undertaking the task of defending superseded errors.

The following quotations will go far to show that we are not writing at random.

Professor Virchow, whose name has lately become a household word as the first microscopist in Germany, delivered an address⁴ last year on this subject. He declared that he was a "friend though not a follower" of the system, and his whole tendency was to point out its present lack of demonstration. Yet he admitted :

However deficient be the facts which experimentally or by demonstration prove the development of individual variations into specific variations, yet the results of embryology, zoology, and pathology, agree excellently with the theory of development. It is evident that all these branches of science have under the influence of the evolution theory made most important advances in the knowledge of actual processes, sometimes in altogether neglected directions. Darwinism has proved itself to be a most fertile theory.

Professor Drummond is a more enthusiastic friend of the theory, and the marvellous success of his eloquent book, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, must be attributed to his representative position as an exponent of what is most modern in science, quite as much as to his warm advocacy of some doctrines of Christianity. But his moderation is observable when he remarks :

The strength of the doctrine of Evolution, at least in its broader outlines, is such that its verdict on any biological question is a consideration of moment.⁵

And further down :

The still wider Evolution of all the individuals within each province . . . is at least suspected, the gradual rise of types being at all events a fact (p. 404).

And the Duke of Argyll, who has most ably criticized the two papers of Mr. Spencer already mentioned, and has ever protested against the extravagancies of the materialistic view, remarks :⁶

The general idea and principle of Evolution pervades everything both in nature and art. Nothing seems alien to this great conception. The points of weakness in Darwin's theory (*i.e.*, Natural Selection) as one very special application of a general conception, have been, as it were, submerged under a rising tide of vague recognition and of loose

⁴ Delivered, at Wiesbaden, before the Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians.

⁵ Twenty-first Edition, p. 400.

⁶ *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1887, p. 764.

acceptance. . . . With the growing prevalence of a nearly universal plebiscite, the doubters have seldom dared to speak. It has become the fashion to deprecate even the suspicion of heresy on the cardinal tenets of the new philosophy. It has taken its place as the popular doctrine of the world.⁷

The conclusion we draw from this, the present state of the controversy is, not that we are bound to accept the principle of Evolution, but that a doctrine of matter which, while it is in general harmony with the principle, can impose certain limits on its application, will render a service both to science and to religion. We think that the Peripatetic doctrine is such.

As to the first point we may begin by quoting Father Harper, who says :

From the preceding it may be clearly seen, that there is nothing in the principle of natural evolution which is not in strict accordance with the teaching of St. Thomas and of the Fathers of the Church. On the contrary, the latter taught it some fifteen hundred years ago.⁸

He refers especially to St. Augustine, of whom St. Thomas says,⁹ "Differunt autem secundum productionem plantarum et animalium; quae alii ponunt, in opere sex dierum, esse producta in actu; Augustinus vero¹⁰ potentialiter tantum." And from whom have we derived the scholastic doctrine of matter, if not from the two greatest doctors of the Church?

This doctrine not only harmonizes well with Evolution ; it is Evolution. It states that all material forms are contained in the potency of matter, and that they can be educed from it. In other words all strictly material substances can be evolved from matter. We must discuss this question somewhat at length. Mark then, and mark well, if the Peripatetic philosophy declares that something can be educed (or evolved) from the potency of matter, it does not attribute to matter any inherent capacity of evolving itself. For (as we stated in our last article, but for the sake of clearness may be allowed to repeat)

⁷ We have many statements in strong contrast with the above. Dr. J. W. Draper, in his *Conflict between Religion and Science*, the character of which may be gathered from an article in THE MONTH (Jan. 1888, p. 58), has asserted "The doctrine that every living form is derived from some preceding form [a patent absurdity, by the way] is scientifically in a much more advanced position than that concerning force [*i.e.*, that force is invariable in quantity and transmutable] and probably may be considered as established." It will not perhaps surprise any one to hear that Mr. Huxley has lately made a similar assertion, with regard to Palaeontological types of being.

⁸ *The Metaphysics of the School*, vol. ii, p. 746.

⁹ *Ia pars*, 74, ii. c.

¹⁰ *Syp. Gen.* viii. 3.

matter is conceived as something in itself wholly helpless, lifeless, inert, possessed of neither activities nor qualities. It is in fact almost but not quite nothing. And yet it contains the potency of all substantial forms (except of course spiritual) and therefore of all the qualities, all the activities of material substances. Is there any contradiction here? By no means. Forms are educed from matter, but only as from a passive principle. In other words an external cause, an active principle, an agent is invariably demanded for the production of any material substance. If the change involved is physical, an adequate physical cause, say heat or perhaps pressure, is needed; if the change is chemical, a chemical agent, as nitric acid, or oxygen; if the change is biological, a living or generating agent, a parent. We may state then this universal law; a given substance can be produced by the eduction of its substantial form from the potency of matter, where there is present an external active principle adequate to effect that result; but where it can be proved that there is no such principle, or one that is wholly inadequate, we may pronounce such an eduction or evolution to be impossible.

Before applying this universal law to our subject, we must explain rather more closely the mode in which the active principle does its work. It has a twofold function. First it gradually disposes the matter, by changing its accidental qualities, to make it fit to support the new substantial form. Then it instantaneously educes the form from the potency of the matter so prepared. The second result is, as it were, the necessary term of the first process. Taken together they form but one complete action. Now, if we consider the eduction from the potency of marble of an accidental form, say a likeness to Bismarck, affected by the active principle of a sharp chisel driven by a cunning hand; from such an analogy it would seem unnecessary to make more than a distinction of words between the disposing of the marble to support the likeness, and the eduction of the likeness from the marble. But in the case of the substantial form it is otherwise. Here it is of the quintessence of the system to make a real and, as we shall show, important distinction between the two results. Or rather, if we abandon the distinction, which is the same as abandoning the real distinction between the matter and the form, we have no longer a system, but an obsolete collection of very cumbrous phraseology.

We may now put the crucial question, Does there exist in nature any suitable active principle for the eduction of new species from the potency of matter by natural Evolution?

We know by experience that all living things, plants as well as animals, produce offspring like themselves by the agency of some portion of their own organism or at least what comes to the same thing, of a sperm-cell. But what known agent exists for the generation of new species ever tending to higher complexity of organization? Now, as we are not maintaining more than the great probability of Evolution from a scientific point of view, we shall not undertake to show that such an agent certainly exists. But it is enough for our purpose to point out that one is in fact postulated. Evolutionists are not agreed as to its precise nature and mode of operation. We have said that even the least timid among them has lately warned the world "that it is yet far too soon to close the inquiry concerning the causes of organic Evolution." Mr. Spencer recognizes the futility of the Darwinian Natural Selection, acting of itself and blindly, and condemns his own phrase, the Survival of the Fittest, as misleading; and suggests another factor, viz., the inheritance of functional modification through exercise; to which in turn the Duke of Argyll objects that this is a very inadequate factor. Whatever may be thought of these particular views, we may safely affirm that all evolutionists look to the *environment* of organisms as a modifying cause or combination of causes which, acting on and with the principle of heredity, is able to bring about the changes in question. This subtle influence could only act slowly and imperceptibly, and therefore it supposes that in the line of Evolution there are no distinct barriers to be passed, but an even course of improvement, a series of changes shading into one another and caused by a tendency in a given direction. As the waves seem to be merely coming and going because the wind and its reaction drives them about, while all along there is pulling steadily at the water the attraction of the moon, or of the moon and sun combined; so do individuals come and go according to their own laws, while environment and heredity are steadily pulling the race along the line of Evolution. Therefore we say on the face of the question, there is here no necessary divergence from the law of causality as above set forth.

On the other hand, if we can show that there are distinct barriers in the line, distinct gaps in the series which cannot

possibly be bridged by any tendency in a given direction, the theory of Evolution as an exclusive cause is so far put to confusion. We have stated that philosophy does impose limitations of such a kind on natural Evolution, and to the treatment of these we will now proceed.

To return to the distinction between the preparation of the matter by a natural agent, and the eduction of the form from the matter by the same agent, philosophy considers one case where nature supplies an agent which is competent for the former, and wholly incompetent for the latter. We refer of course to the generation of a human being. In this action the human agent disposes the matter of the offspring so as to render it fit to be informed by a human soul. The natural agent there stops, it cannot effect the information. We need not consider the reason of this impossibility, which is of course the intrinsic nature of the form required; still less can we attempt to prove the point, which would involve a whole treatise of ideology. We are expounding rather than defending philosophy, and must take for granted some important propositions. But the consideration of what follows from this half-completed action of a natural agent is of vital moment. We are face to face with a hiatus, a gap in the order of nature, a barrier to its progress. It must be somehow bridged over, or grave disorder will ensue—no less than the generation by man of beings which belong to a lower order than himself. An Intelligent First Cause, in bestowing generative powers on nature's crowning work, must have foreseen the contingency, and was bound to provide for it. It has provided for it. The gap is bridged, the barrier passed. The First Cause supplies immediately for the necessary incompetence of the natural agent. It produces of itself, and without the concurrence of matter, a form which is exacted for matter by its disposition through natural causes. This is an act of creation, but it is no miracle. For a miracle is an interference with the regular operations of nature, and the act in question is demanded that the operations of nature may proceed. If such action of the First Cause cannot be called strictly a law of nature, it is as regular, as immutable, as well ordered as any of the laws of nature. An assertion that will appear incredible to such as believe nature to be a blind force, a vast machine, without intelligent control, and without final or efficient cause. But inasmuch as Christian philosophy supposes the manifold

concurrence of the First Cause in all secondary actions; as it even admits the possibility of the total disruption of such actions by miracles (when a sufficiently grave purpose demands them); there is surely no violence, nay, is there not manifest congruity in admitting, where necessitated by the essential incompleteness of secondary causes, the sole and immediate action according to law of that Cause which is the Beginning and the End of all causality?

The truth of these principles then being supposed, we think they can be to some degree applied to the origin of species, *i.e.*, by pointing out similar barriers in the way of natural agents which must be passed in a similar manner. If we succeed in doing so, we need hardly point out how, from an evolutionary point of view, the argument for the creation of the human soul as a spiritual entity will be strengthened. This will be seen to be no longer a solitary gap—if it can be truly called a gap—in the order of nature. It will be one of a series of necessary divine interventions, beginning with the creation of matter and reaching up to the higher operations of Omnipotence in the human soul, which, though guided by their proper laws, are far above those of nature, and completely independent of, though a beautiful crowning-point to, natural Evolution.¹¹

We shall deal with two such barriers, which we think can be certainly established, the transition from inorganic to organic being, and that from non-sentient to sentient life, leaving it to the progress of our knowledge to decide whether there are or are not other points at which natural Evolution must likewise break down.

With regard to the first of the two gaps, Biogenesis, we think it unnecessary to go into a long discussion. But a few years ago much was said and written on the subject of spontaneous generation. Owing perhaps to the labours of Tyndall

¹¹ Professor Drummond, treating the matter from our stand-point, bestows his whole attention on the barrier which is strictly supernatural—the production of grace in the soul. He has put so well so many important truths, that we are loth to criticize his statements. But his application of the terms Evolution and natural law to this particular subject, and his confusion of the spiritual with the supernatural, is in fundamental opposition to all sound philosophy. Even his title, as he means it, is a misnomer. However, the following words are too important not to be quoted: “Any one with a theory to support as to the exceptional creation of the human race, will find the present classification elastic enough for his purpose. . . To add another kingdom midway between the organic and the spiritual, could that be justified at any future time on scientific grounds, would be a mere question of further detail.” (pp. 409, 410.)

and Haeckel, which failed to give any support to the theory, and to the late discoveries of Pasteur of the germs of the small intestinal worms which had not previously been accounted for, it seems that the idea has fallen into thorough disfavour with modern biologists. Mr. Spencer indeed has pleaded in its favour, saying that though

Biologists agree that in the present state of the world no such thing happens as the rise of a living creature out of non-living matter; yet they do not deny that at a remote period, under higher temperature and different physical conditions, inorganic matter gave origin through successive complications to organic matter.¹²

But the Duke of Argyll sees in these words only a flight of fancy, and points out that the apostle of Evolution has herein contradicted his previous dogmatic assertions. He says:

His selection of this most superficial kind of difference (*i.e.*, protoplasm of a cell and its membrane) hides another kind of outsideness and insideness which is really and truly fundamental; namely, the outsideness and insideness of every organism as a whole with reference to all external forces. Nobody has pointed out this more clearly in former years than Mr. Spencer himself. . . . Organic bodies are not simply moved; they move themselves. They have *self-mobility*, as Mr. Spencer in the same article asserts.¹³

And Professor Drummond says bluntly, "The overthrow of spontaneous generation has left a break in continuity which continues to put science to confusion."¹⁴ Although philosophy is quite independent of experimental evidence to prove the absolute impossibility of spontaneous generation, it may welcome the admission as a relief, and make use of it as a means of enforcing conviction.

But the question of the transition from merely vegetative to animal forms is in a less satisfactory state. Here materialists either ignore, or use their best efforts to disprove, any radical distinction. As they confuse intelligence with the consciousness of brutes, making the difference one of degree only; so do they confuse the latter with certain phenomena of highly developed plants. And what seems to us more deplorable, many whose views are sound in general as to principles of philosophy, pass over this point as either untenable or unimportant. It cannot of course be denied that the line between vegetable and animal

¹² Second of the Articles quoted above, p. 769.

¹³ *Nineteenth Century* for January 1888, "A Great Confession," p. 156. ¹⁴ P. 407.

existence in the concrete is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to mark out ; and hence the reluctance to assert that it exists. But it is the work of philosophy to prove its existence, sharp and defined, and to prove that it marks out departments of being which, however they may seem to shade into one another, can never belong to the same unbroken series of natural development. Until this is established, as Biogenesis is established, we do not think we shall ever gain a hearing from evolutionists for the more subtle and abstract proofs of the gap between spiritual and non-spiritual cognition, and therefore between spiritual and non-spiritual modes of existence. But if we prove a second gap here where it is less expected, surely we shall have a strong presumption in our favour when we come to deal with the nature of a human soul. Mr. Drummond, though applying the principle differently, expresses very well our meaning. He says, speaking of the "overthrow of spontaneous generation" :

Alone it is as abnormal as a single Eclipse. . . . The contribution to the system of Nature (*i.e.*, of a second barrier) is of real scientific value. At first it may seem to increase the difficulty. But in reality it abolishes it. However paradoxical it seems, it is nevertheless the case that two barriers are more easy to understand than one—two mysteries are less mysterious than a single mystery. For it requires two to constitute a harmony. One by itself is a catastrophe. . . . The occurrence of two periods (as in the case of an Eclipse) with special phenomena of life, the second higher, and by the law necessarily higher, is no violation of the principle of Evolution. (p. 407.)

Perhaps had he said no violation of the principle of continuity, the statement would be less open to contradiction. We believe that a certain continuity runs through nature, and certainly throughout the kingdoms of animal and vegetable existence ; but it does not follow (provided we can prove the contrary), that, although in some cases there is no visible break between the two kingdoms, there can be perfect continuity in their natural Evolution.

Let us briefly suggest the line that will suffice to prove a break, and then we can deal better with the question of continuity.

We assume that all sensation is in some sort consciousness or knowledge. Now this is a sort of vitality, but how does it differ from the vitality of plants, *i.e.*, growth, assimilation, waste, self-movement, reproduction ? These are all activities, either conversant with matter (in the strict Peripatetic sense) or with

the substantial form. They preserve it from destruction ; and, since it must be destroyed sooner or later, they provide new forms, essentially similar, by educing them from the potency of matter. How much more is consciousness ! It is the providing for a nature by itself and within itself of *new forms, which are alien to itself*, and by which it represents or expresses to itself something generally outside of its nature. This is always true in the case of external sensation, as vision, which is a vital reproduction of some material thing external to the visual faculty. And in the simplest sort of internal sensation, say a feeling of pain, and which looks at first the same thing as the nervous reaction of the so-called sensitive plant, the process is really identical. The feeling of pain may be called a nervous re-action, if you will ; but of a very special sort. It may be a transient act, and it follows perhaps from a local disturbance of nerve centres ; but it is not a reaction in the sense of a mere material repetition of the disturbance. We should not be disposed to deny that the shriveling up of a plant may be a vital act ; but it is a lower sort of vitality, a part of its vegetative process, and only bearing an apparent analogy with true feeling. For to feel pain is to know that you are in pain, and to know it is to form to yourself a sort of mental (though of course not intellectual, or abstract,) picture of an internal disorder. Words may seem to fail us here, but we can only fall back on common sense ; and we can feel better what feeling is, by feeling it, (*i.e.*, we can know it better by sensitive knowledge), than we can express it by abstract conceptions.

If it be true that sensitive beings have a power of getting for themselves, or imprinting on themselves new and alien forms—which is a power of a totally diverse order from all merely vegetative faculties—it follows that in every organism, existent or possible, such a power either exists or does not, whether we are able or unable to tell it by observation ; and since it is a power which far surpasses in kind all lower faculties, no organism could derive it by an imperceptible and gradual improvement caused by environment upon its vegetable progenitors. Just as the principle of life must come from an adequate cause, and, as we have rather supposed than proved, the First Cause, so the principle of this new and higher life must be similarly accounted for.

Although Evolution, in the narrow sense, breaks down here as a complete efficient cause of sensation, and there is a sort of discontinuity apparent—about which philosophy may put down

its foot proudly, and defy materialism with all its theories and all its facts to attack its position—yet we do not deny the concurrence of Evolution in bringing matter to this particular grade of perfection in the scale of being. The forms of animals are educed from the potency of matter, and supposing (though not granting unreservedly) that new species can be obtained by the interaction of heredity and environment, we do not see any difficulty in granting that the same causes could, at least up to a certain point, prepare matter for the reception of a sentient principle. Such a position might appear inconsistent, were it not for the analogy between this case and that of the information of the human foetus of which we have treated. We do not mean to assert that the cases are exactly similar. In human generation, the immediate action of the First Cause is needed for each individual produced, and needed because the human soul, being in its essence independent of matter, could not without repugnance be educed from the potency of matter; whereas we claim that sentient forms are so educed, but that in the first instance they could not be educed by ordinary or second causes. In the one case there is an absolute, in the other only a relative, impossibility. But it is the same, as far as an effect is concerned, to prove that no adequate cause is present, as to prove that even if a given cause were present, it would not be adequate. If, therefore, in the one case a natural cause prepares the matter for the infusion of a form, which has yet to be infused by a higher causality; we do not see the impossibility of extending the principle to the origin of such species as are plainly beyond the power of all the causes of Evolution to produce. That is to say, those causes might carry on the work of preparing matter to receive a sentient form, but only, as we said, up to a certain point. Not to the *ultimate* disposition of matter; for that would seem to naturally involve the eduction of a strictly material form; but up to the point just falling short of that ultimate disposition. To give, by a single act, the ultimate disposition, and to educe the form, would constitute the intervention of the First Cause. For it is thus that the continuity, which is observed, would be reconciled with the distinction, outlined above, between non-sentient and sentient vitality. Nor does Philosophy, any more than Science, admit acts of interference by Omnipotence with Its own natural laws, further than they can be clearly and certainly established.

Some facts about St. Dominic.

FAR is it from our purpose to attempt a biography, strictly so called, of the great Saint whose name stands at the head of the present article. The principal details of his life, the chief features of the work he accomplished in founding his illustrious Order, are doubtless already well known to the majority of our readers, as are also the more striking among the many marvellous miracles he performed. Rather therefore would we glean from the records of the historian¹ some few particulars illustrative of the virtues of St. Dominic, and especially of the wonderful influence he exercised upon the lives and characters of those with whom he came into contact.

It is unnecessary to speak at length of the noble ancestors with whom he was connected on both his father's and his mother's side, of his parents' piety, of the marvellous visions which preceded his entrance into this world in 1170, and announced the signal favour with which the unborn child was regarded by the Lord of Heaven, whose all-powerful name (*Dominicus a Domino*) he was, in accordance with a special inspiration, privileged to bear. From his earliest childhood, he was remarkable alike for rare intelligence and angelic virtue, being absolutely free from faults as far as the eye of man could discern, and so thoroughly versed in the things of God that he was termed *ce vénérable enfant*, a title which sounds strange and paradoxical enough in our ears!

The University of Palencia was at that period one of the first in Spain. Attracted by the fame of the professors who taught within its precincts, crowds of students flocked thither, and among them came our future Saint, as soon as he had attained the age of fifteen. Nothing could exceed the care with which, having thus for the first time left the roof of his pious parents, he

¹ *Livre sur la Vie et la Mort de Saint Dominique.* Par Thierry d'Apolda, de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris : Librairie Catholique Internationale, 1887.

avoided every occasion of temptation, nor would it be easy to find anything to equal the ardour with which he threw himself into the pursuit of the knowledge for which his keen and powerful intellect thirsted. Those who love learning for its own sake, will know how to appreciate the charity which impelled him in the course of a famine which ravaged almost the whole of Spain during his residence at Palencia, to sell, not only all his possessions, but even his beloved books, in order to relieve the distress which so deeply touched his kind and tender heart. For St. Dominic, whom the enemies of the Church delight to represent as stern and unbending if not positively cruel, was on the contrary distinguished throughout his whole life by a special power of sympathy and a gift of feeling not only for, but with those who were visited by suffering and misfortune, of whatever kind this might be.

By the time he had completed his course of studies, the fame of his learning and virtue had spread far and wide, mainly doubtless, through the medium of those who having been his companions during his university career, had on their return to their respective homes spoken eloquently in praise of one whom they all felt to be immeasurably superior to themselves in both mental gifts and spiritual graces. At this period (1195) Don Diego d'Azevedo was Prior of the Canons Regular of the Cathedral of Osma. Himself no ordinary man, he had no sooner heard about St. Dominic than he endeavoured to persuade him to accept a vacant canonry, just then at his disposal, and fortunate indeed did he deem himself when the Saint acceded to his proposal, and took up his abode at Osma, bringing no small blessing with him, since his shining example was the means of inciting those among whom he lived to aim at the highest standard of Christian perfection. Don Diego had already done much in the same direction, by inducing his Canons to adopt a quasi-religious mode of life, and follow to a certain extent the rule of St. Augustine. In 1201 he was appointed Bishop of Osma, and shortly afterwards Alfonso, sovereign of Castile, sent him on a mission first to the Count de la Marche, and afterwards to the Court of Rome. As his *socius* he took with him Brother Dominic, for so the Saint was then called, and the latter rejoiced to be thus intimately associated with his beloved Bishop, from whose ripe experience, matured wisdom, and fervent piety he was ever ready to declare that he had derived no small benefit. Travelling was then a widely

different thing from what it is now, and Don Diego completely wore out his strength in the course of these long and wearisome journeys, returning to Osma, in 1207, only to die.

Many, however, of the labours and fatigues to which he thus succumbed were in no way connected with the immediate object of his journey, but were undertaken with a view to promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls, for the same apostolic zeal glowed within the breast of the holy Bishop and his more youthful companion. Numerous indeed were their voluntary and self-imposed hardships and privations; whilst traversing lonely and sequestered districts, when they were safe from observation, they would walk barefoot, being careful, the chronicler tells us, "to resume an ordinary appearance as soon as they approached the habitations of men," thus proving the true nature of their sanctity by avoiding singularity and display. Chiefly were their efforts aimed at rescuing those unhappy persons who had become entangled in the meshes of false doctrine, for the sect of the Albigenses was at this period rapidly spreading in the south of France. It was in the neighbourhood of Toulouse that Dominic made his first convert in the person of the master of an inn where he passed the night. This man was in the first instance attracted by the manner and conversation of the Saint, and finally won back by him to the fold of the Church.

Ere long it pleased God to confirm by miracles the truth of His servant's teaching; on one occasion, for example, a controversial work written by him was thrown into the flames simultaneously with a book composed by a heretic minister. The latter treatise was instantly consumed, while the work of which St. Dominic was the author sprang of its own accord out of the fire, and being cast back into it a second and third time, the same marvellous result ensued, so that it remained at last whole and uninjured.

Whilst sojourning at Fanjeaux, Don Diégo discovered that many noble families resident in that part of France, having become impoverished either by civil wars or more private and personal misfortunes, were in the habit of sending their daughters to schools kept by heretics, who for the sake of imbuing these young minds with soul-destroying error, gladly undertook to defray the cost of the young girls' maintenance and education. The zealous Bishop gave himself no rest until he had established at Prouille a convent where these maidens

might be received and taught. St. Dominic co-operated in the good work with all his might, and the spot to be selected for the building itself was miraculously revealed to him during the night of July 22, 1206, which he was spending in prayer on the summit of a hill whence the village of Prouille can be plainly discerned. Suddenly a ball of fire appeared in the sky, exactly over a chapel dedicated to our Lady, and slowly descending, alighted upon the roof, after which it disappeared. The same phenomenon was repeated on each of the two succeeding nights, and the foundation made upon the place thus marvellously indicated proved, as the years went on, a most flourishing and prosperous one. It enjoyed the no small advantage of being watched over, and indeed in a great measure governed, by St. Dominic, who was called *Prieur de Prouille* and abode for some years at Fanjeaux, where the house in which he dwelt is still termed in the patois of the district, *Bourquet Sant Domenge*, the place where the sign appeared to him being known as *Segnadou*, and marked by a large cross of stone.

The Convent of Prouille was destroyed by the Revolution in 1793, but in 1855 a French lady purchased the ground upon which it had stood, with the view of erecting it afresh, and, singular to relate, before the first stone of the new building could be laid, the sign beheld by St. Dominic was again seen after the lapse of six centuries and a half, and a ball of fire once more descended from Heaven to hallow, as it were, the spot where his children were to return after their banishment. The miracle was well attested, the fiery globe having been beheld by seven of the inhabitants of Fanjeaux, all of them being moreover totally ignorant of the fact that the pious foundress had besought from God this manifestation as a mark of His divine approval of her project of re-establishing the Daughters of St. Dominic in their former home.

In 1215 was held the Fourth Lateran Council, and on this occasion St. Dominic wended his way to Rome in the company of Foulques, Bishop of Toulouse, who was also journeying thither with a view to attending the Council. Innocent the Third at that time occupied the Chair of Peter, and to him the Saint unfolded his long-cherished desire of founding the Order of Friars Preachers. The Pope showed himself at first somewhat opposed to the scheme, but in the course of the following night he saw in a vision the Church of St. John Lateran, tottering to its fall, but, marvellous to say, upborne

on the shoulders of Dominic. No further hint was needed by the sagacious Pontiff, who on the morrow graciously approved the project, and ordered the Saint to return to Toulouse, that he might there confer with his brethren, and decide all matters concerning the future Order. This was accordingly done, the rule chosen being that of St. Augustine, because he had been so distinguished a preacher. Much additional strictness was, however, enjoined in the form of Constitutions, and a monastery was forthwith erected on a piece of land given by the Bishop to the brethren, who numbered about sixteen. Matters being thus satisfactorily arranged, St. Dominic once more repaired to Rome. Innocent the Third had died during his absence, having been succeeded on the Papal throne by Honorius the Third, and it was only natural that the Saint should fear to find the new Pope less kind than his predecessor had been. Everything, however, prospered according to the desires of the founder, and the new Order was definitely established and formally acknowledged by Honorius himself in conjunction with the whole College of Cardinals.

The Pontiff entertained so exalted an opinion not only of the sanctity of Dominic, but also of his tact, wisdom, and prudence, that he shortly afterwards intrusted to his hands a very difficult and delicate task, namely, that of gathering into one the various small communities of religious women at that time existing in different quarters of Rome, in order that they might be strictly enclosed, and made to adopt a common Rule. This measure, the desirability of which Honorius had long recognized, met, as a matter of course, with no small amount of opposition from those who had grown accustomed to the enjoyment of more or less liberty, and to the pursuance of their own particular manner of life. But the firmness of the Saint triumphed over every obstacle and conquered every difficulty, so that in the early part of 1220, the whole of the religious were collected under a common roof, close to the Church of St. Sixtus. St. Dominic established a strict enclosure, prohibiting the nuns from having interviews with even their near relatives except in the presence of a third person; he caused them to adopt the Rule of his Order, and himself most carefully taught, trained, and supervised them. The Convent of St. Sixtus is remarkable as being the first house of women founded by St. Dominic. In 1555, the increasing unhealthiness of that part of the city, compelled the nuns to remove to a better situation, and there

they have continued to dwell up to the present day. But the new masters of Rome have deprived them of almost the whole of the land belonging to the convent, thus reducing them to the sorest straits, and forcing them, not only to practise the poverty to which their Rule binds them, but to endure in addition the hardships, amounting often to a literal want of necessaries, which result from the sacrilegious spoliations of the revolutionary party.

It may be objected that the convent of Prouille was founded before that of St. Sixtus, and this is doubtless true. But at the time when the former foundation was made, the Dominican Order had not been established, nor its Rule approved, so that it was only at a subsequent period that the latter could be adopted by the nuns of Prouille.

None, perhaps, of the saints has possessed in a fuller degree than St. Dominic that perfect equanimity which is so difficult of attainment, and, as a matter of fact, so rarely attained. Truly could he say with the Psalmist, "My soul is continually in my hands," and we find it recorded of him, that he was never ruffled or disturbed except by the sufferings of others, nor, however weary he might be, did he ever fail to receive those who approached him with the most gracious and winning courtesy. To quote the words of the ancient chronicler:

In regard to those who lived under his sway, his heart was always open, and he sought to provide for their every need with the most thoughtful tenderness. Nor did he confine himself to seeing that they had sufficient of the frugal fare provided at the common table, but he was in the habit of procuring for them many little additions, fearing lest the younger religious should suffer from hunger, and thus be led to regret the good things of Egypt; or the older ones, exhausted through lack of suitable nourishment, should feel their heart faint within them, and turn back, discouraged, in the path of perfection. (p. 323.)

On one occasion, when he had delivered an admirable sermon, and explained with great force and clearness certain passages of Holy Writ, a priest who had been among his hearers, asked him the names of the authors in whose pages he had discovered such sublime ideas. "My son," the Saint replied with his customary urbanity, "beyond all other books I study the book of charity, for in that one volume everything may be learnt." (p. 281.)

Nevertheless, when necessity required, he knew how to be firm, nay, even severe. One day, when the older Fathers of the

house in which he happened to be residing, were gathered in consultation upon matters concerning the management of the monastery, the sacristan entered the room, and informed one of those present that he had been asked for in the confessional by a lady, adding under his breath, "Come at once, Father; such a noble-looking woman!" The quick ears of St. Dominic, however, caught the whispered words, and he there and then administered to the thoughtless Brother the discipline with such severity as to excite the compassion of all the beholders, adding when he had finished, "Now go, my son, and mind for the future when you see a woman, your first thought is not about her looks. Beg God to teach you how to observe custody of the eyes." Another day, when returning from the church to his cell, the Saint chanced to meet, in a corridor of the monastery, a Brother in regard to whom he instantly became aware, by means of an interior inspiration, that all was not as it should be. He therefore paused, and inquired in the most matter-of-fact manner, whether the Brother had not about his person something contrary to the Rule. The culprit, thus taken by surprise, crimsoned with shame, and humbly confessed that he had in his pocket some money which had been given to him, and which he had appropriated. St. Dominic ordered him to throw the money away forthwith, then setting him a penance to be performed in expiation of his fault, he forgave him, on account of the frankness with which he had confessed it.

Almost unbounded was the power wielded by our Saint over evil spirits, whose presence he quickly detected, under whatever disguise they attempted to conceal themselves.

Of the numerous and astounding miracles worked by St. Dominic, many are too well known to need repetition here. Miracles, moreover, are, as a rule, apt to prove somewhat uninteresting reading, especially if a number of them be related in succession; we will therefore confine ourselves to a single instance which we have selected because the cure worked was one in relation to which it is not possible to suggest that the imagination of the patient may have played any, if only the smallest, part.

A young Englishman, named Nicholas de Busc, who lived in the neighbourhood of Worcester, was, while pursuing his studies at Bologna, many years subsequently to St. Dominic's death, struck down by a malady which at first caused him to suffer intense pain in his back and legs, and finally deprived

him of the power of motion altogether. He was obliged to keep his bed, and his left leg, from the hip downwards, completely dried up and, as it were, withered, so as to become reduced to a very small size. The best physicians were called in, but their remedies proved unavailing, and they at length informed the patient that all hope of cure must be abandoned, since it was obvious that no human skill could restore the shrunken and dwindled limb to its former muscular proportions. But Nicholas, instead of giving way to despair, made a vow to St. Dominic, at whose shrine he resolved to offer a candle as tall as himself. For this purpose he took a cotton wick, and began the task of self-measurement. As he was measuring his diseased leg, he felt the pain he had been enduring cease, and all at once was conscious that a complete cure had been effected, the limb having returned to its original size. Springing out of bed, he dressed in haste, and ran with tears of joy and gratitude streaming down his cheeks, to the church where the body of the Saint reposed. It may be imagined what surprise his appearance excited. Nor did he experience the slightest return of the disease, for we may quote the very words of a contemporary historian who says on the occasion, many years later, of the translation of the body of St. Dominic: "I saw this same Englishman, Nicholas, who had been paralyzed so long, running and leaping."

Space forbids us to mention separately the various foundations made by our Saint, but it may be interesting to know that the first English house was founded immediately after the second general Chapter of the Order, by Gilbert de Frayssinet, accompanied by thirteen of his brethren in religion. On arriving at Canterbury, he preached before the Archbishop, who was much delighted with the sermon, and forthwith took the Friars under his protection. They went next to London, and finally settled at Oxford, where they erected a monastery on a piece of land given them by the King, outside the city walls, and there they remained until their suppression, being occupied specially in the work of teaching. The earliest Scotch foundation seems to have been made about 1219, by an Englishman named Laurence, accompanied by two English novices called Taylor and Clement.

Wonderful and interesting is it to trace the manner in which our Blessed Lady watched over the sons of St. Dominic in their varied and perilous journeyings, protecting them from every

danger, providing for their every need, rebuking those who scorned or suspected them, rewarding those who received and entertained them. In illustration of what we have said, we will borrow two of the quaint stories with which the pages of Thierry d'Apolda abound.

There lived in Lombardy a devout lady who led a life of solitude and retirement. Happening to hear that a new Order had arisen, she greatly desired to become acquainted with some of its members, and circumstances favoured the attainment of her wish, for shortly afterwards two Dominicans, who had been preaching in the neighbourhood, chanced to pay her a visit. Their conversation was pious and edifying, as that of good religious will ever be, but their hostess, seeing them to be young, handsome, and fairly-well clad, despised them in her heart, deeming that, being what they were, they could not fail to be corrupted by contact with the world, in so dissolute an age. The following night the Blessed Mother of God appeared to her and said: "You grievously offended me yesterday. Do you imagine that I cannot preserve my servants pure and spotless, when they are travelling about in order to promote the salvation of souls? In order to prove to you that I have taken them under my special protection, I will show you those whom you dared to despise." Then raising her mantle, the Immaculate Virgin showed to the astonished lady a multitude of brethren, among whom were those of whom she had thought so meanly on the preceding day. Touched with compunction for her fault, she henceforward loved the Dominicans with her whole soul, and made a point of relating the above incident whenever she could (pp. 346, 347).

Two of the brethren, whilst travelling in Pannonia, arrived in a certain village at the hour when its inhabitants were engaged in hearing Mass. The service being concluded, everybody went home, and the sacristan closed the church, so that the Brothers were compelled to remain in the porch, for no one offered them hospitality. A poor fisherman saw them, and longed to take them home with him, not daring however to do so, because he feared there were no suitable provisions in the house. Yet he went and consulted his wife about the matter, but only to hear that she had nothing fit to set before them. "It can do no harm to turn your purse inside out," suggested the husband. This she did, and to her astonishment discovered two pieces of money. "Make haste," cried the delighted fisherman, "buy some bread and wine, and cook a fish also." Then he ran back to the porch, proffered his invitation with great diffidence, and joyfully conducted the Brothers to his house. At the conclusion of their meal they thanked him, and took leave, expressing a hope that God would reward him for his charity. From that day forward, he constantly found in his girdle two pieces of money, and no sooner were they spent or given away, than two more came to replace them, so that at length the fisherman

grew rich in lands and cattle. But when he was amply provided for, according to his position in life, the miraculous supply of money ceased. As long as he lived, he entertained the brethren whenever they came into his neighbourhood, and was always a devoted admirer of the Dominican Order (pp. 413—415).

The foundation of Bologna, made in the early part of 1218, proved from the outset a most successful one. Shortly after it was established, a Papal Legate, himself a Cistercian, came to the city upon business, of what nature we are not told, and presenting himself at the Dominican monastery, asked for hospitality. He was received with the honours due to his rank, but while he was staying in the house, his mind became troubled with doubts concerning this new Order, and he began to question whether its formation could be due to a Divine inspiration, or whether it was not merely the result of human will or caprice. One day, when in the church of the Brothers, he asked for a missal, which was brought him. Having made the sign of the Cross, he opened it at random, and the first words upon which his eye lighted were the following : *Laudare, benedicere, et praedicare.* We need not wonder that he regarded these words, describing so exactly as they do, the work of the Friars Preachers, in the light of a heaven-sent message, and that he forthwith chased away from his spirit the doubts which had arisen to disturb it.

Among the holy community which has made famous the monastery of Bologna, no brighter luminary can be found than Brother Reginald, a native of France. He gave up a distinguished worldly position in order to assume the habit of religion. He belonged to the Cathedral Chapter of Orleans, and was, as the chronicler tells us, "a man in every respect worthy of praise, of great renown, holding a place among the most learned men of the day by reason of his extensive knowledge, having taught canon law for five years in the University of Paris." When St. Dominic went to reside at Bologna, he sent Reginald, who had been holding the office of Prior there, to Paris, in order that he might have the opportunity of preaching in his native tongue, and thus giving fuller scope to his rare gift of pulpit oratory. Not less forcibly did he teach by his perfect example of Christian virtue, than by his eloquent and persuasive discourses, so that those who had formerly known him when he was living in the world, flattered and sought after by his friends and acquaintances, dainty and refined in his

manner of life, and by no means indifferent to the quality of the clothes he wore, or of the dishes placed upon his table, could not repress their surprise when they beheld the joyous ease and ready alacrity with which he submitted to all the restraints and austeries of his present mode of existence. At last one bolder than the rest plucked up courage to ask him : "Master, do you not find the yoke of the Rule heavy and irksome?" For a moment Reginald cast down his eyes, then looking up again, answered, with an angelic smile : "On the contrary, ever since I have been in religion I have been so happy, and all has been so easy to me, that I am afraid I can have acquired no merit."

Scarcely more than a year after his return to Paris he fell sick, and it became apparent that his end was drawing nigh.

The Prior therefore went to his cell, and spoke to him of receiving Extreme Unction, adding that his last struggle with death and the powers of evil seemed to be imminent. The dying man answered : "I fear not this struggle ; rather do I desire it, and look forward to it with joy. The Mother of Mercy anointed me with her own hand, when I was in Rome. I have entire trust in her protection, and I greatly long to behold her again. Nevertheless, in order that I may not appear to think slightly of one of the ordinances of Holy Church, I beg you, Reverend Father, to permit me to receive Extreme Unction." This he accordingly did with the utmost devotion, in the presence of the brethren, and then peacefully fell asleep *in osculo Domini*. Blessed most truly and happy was he on the day of his death, since he feared neither the pangs of dissolution nor the rage of devils, but, full of confidence in the sweet Virgin Mother, joyously turned his gaze towards eternity ! (p. 215.)

He was interred in the Church of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, the Dominicans then having no burying-ground of their own, and from that time (February, 1220), his tomb became a frequent place of pilgrimage. In 1608 it was opened, and, his body being found whole and uncorrupt, was removed from its resting-place and deposited in a shrine. The church itself was, in 1614, made over to the earliest French Carmelites, and the daughters of St. Teresa thus became the guardians of the precious relics. The worship of Blessed Reginald was observed continuously until our own day, when it was confirmed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1875. His feast is kept on the 12th of February, according to the Dominican Calendar.

Another charming episode is the story of a native of Apulia,

Thomas by name, whom St. Dominic himself received into the Order at Bologna, and whom he dearly loved, on account of his innocence and simplicity. Thomas had, however, been much beloved also by his friends in the world, and they, regretting his absence from the social circles of which he had been so bright an ornament, decoyed him from the convent by means of false pretences, stripped him of his religious dress, and forcibly retained him in their midst. The monks, discovering what had happened, ran in consternation to St. Dominic, and told him that his favourite son had been carried off by force. Without delay he repaired to the church, and entreated that the captors might relinquish their prey, and the lost lamb be brought back to the fold. In fact, Thomas gave his persecutors no rest, for no sooner had they removed his coarse woollen tunic and put on him a garment of fine linen instead, than he cried out: "I feel as if my whole body were on fire!" Ere long they grew weary of his complaints and lamentations, and were only too glad to take him back to the cloister, where he lived to a good old age. He was of great service to his Order, and acquired the regard of all with whom he came in contact by the winning sweetness of his manners and address. Regarding the circumstances of his decease we find no definite information in the pages of d'Apolda, but the account he gives of the death of another distinguished Dominican is too striking to be omitted.

The entrance into the Order of Conrad the Teuton, as he is called, was the result of a special petition addressed to our Lord by its holy Founder. Towards the close of his eminently pious and edifying life, Conrad predicted the time and place of his death, which took place at Magdeburg. When he became conscious that the hour of his departure was close at hand, the Prior and the other members of the community having gathered around his bed, he sang in a voice which, though feeble, was clear, and of surpassing sweetness, the words: *Cantate Domino canticum novum, alleluia.* Then, closing his eyes, he relapsed into silence, while those present chanted some psalms. Once more he gazed on each of his brethren in turn, and said: *Dominus vobiscum.* They responded: *Et cum spiritu tuo,* and proceeded to recite the fifteen Gradual Psalms. When they reached the verse: "*This is my rest for ever and ever, here will I dwell, for I have chosen it,*"¹ the dying man raised his arm,

¹ Psalm cxxxii. 14.

and pointed with his finger towards Heaven, expiring immediately afterwards with an expression of radiant joy upon his countenance, and a smile of unutterable sweetness hovering about his lips. Those who prepared the body for burial, perceived, as they did so, a fragrant and delicate perfume, which subsequently clung to their fingers for a considerable period.

We must add a few brief particulars respecting the last days of St. Dominic. Already exhausted by the fatigues and responsibilities inseparable from his apostolic labours, and the monasteries he had founded, he greatly over-exerted himself during a journey he undertook in the course of July, 1221, for the purpose of conferring with the Bishop of Ostia, at that time Legate Apostolic for the province of Lombardy, on matters relating to the extension of the Order.

Scarcely had St. Dominic once more reached Bologna, than a sharp attack of fever declared itself, to which, complicated as it was with dysentery, he succumbed on the 6th of August following. Not only did he bear his acute sufferings with serene and unalterable patience, but he was ever cheerful, nay, even merry, and failed not to address words of counsel and exhortation to all who approached the pallet whereon he lay. Seeing the brethren weeping around him, he begged them not to grieve. "Weep not," he said, "my beloved sons, and let not my departure from this mortal body trouble you. In the place to which I am going, I shall be more useful to you than I have ever been, and you will have in me, after my death, a more powerful advocate than you had during my life." These were almost his last words. Shortly afterwards he turned to the Prior, and said, "Begin." Understanding his meaning the latter at once commenced the prayers for the departing, and at the words, *Subvenite, Sancti Dei*, St. Dominic gently breathed his last.

A pious and exemplary religious belonging to another Order, who had cherished a great affection for the departed Saint, and had enjoyed his close and intimate confidence and friendship, came into the church whither the venerated remains had been carried, and took his place among the monks while they were chanting the Office for the Dead. At its conclusion, moved by an irresistible impulse of grief and affection, he approached the lifeless body of his beloved friend, and stooping over it, clasped it in his arms, covering it with pious tears and ardently

embracing it. Marvellous to relate, the lips that seemed to be for ever sealed, opened once more, and breathed into the ear of the astonished mourner a prophecy of the time of his own death, so that he rose up overjoyed, and turning to the Prior, who was standing near him, exclaimed : "Master Dominic has told me that this very year I am to follow him into the presence of Jesus Christ." Fitly therefore may we apply to the eminent Saint of whom we have been speaking, the words of Holy Writ, and say of him, as it is said of the Prophet Eliseus : *Et mortuum prophetavit corpus ejus.*

A. M. CLARKE.

Sonnet.

SUGGESTED BY A PASSAGE IN ORIGEN.

“There are some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death till
they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom.”

MEN who see dimly, men infirm of faith,
See but the Manhood of the Son of Man :
Saints see that God-Man, who ere time began
Was God ; thus see Him “ere they taste of death.”
Ever from Heaven that God-Man issueth
For eyes that faith makes clear. Earth’s petty span
Becomes His Kingdom : weak no more and wan,
It breathes in time Eternity’s large breath.
When Christ ascended came Earth’s eventide :
Since then its sunset deepens and dilates :
To saints forever ’twixt the heavenly gates
The Judge makes way—the Saviour crucified :
A whisper greets them from infinity ;
“They that have eyes to see Him let them see.”

AUBREY DE VERE.

Tiphaine la Fée.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Marquise de Coëtlogon was sitting alone in her little boudoir overlooking the sea. There was a shade of melancholy on her fair brow, and she sighed once or twice as she bent over her embroidery—a short, troubled sigh as at some importunate thought. Presently she rose, and opening the door, rang a little bell that stood on her writing-table. It was answered by a trim-looking maid in the pretty soubrette costume that we now only see on the stage.

"Tell Mademoiselle Alice I want her."

A look of consternation overspread the maid's face.

"Madame la Marquise says"—she faltered. "But is not mademoiselle with madame?"

"You see that she is not," said the lady impatiently. "I have not seen her since luncheon. She is probably in the garden with Monsieur Claude."

"But no, madame. Monsieur le Comte himself asked me if I had seen mademoiselle. And I answered that she was without doubt with madame."

The Marquise looked a little uneasy.

"Foolish child!" she murmured. "She is hiding, no doubt. Go thou and search for her, Suzon."

The maid curtseyed and withdrew. A quarter of an hour—half an hour passed, and she did not re-appear. The Marquise began to grow uneasy. At last there came a knock at the door.

"*Enfin!*" said the lady, turning round. "Where was she?" But she stopped short. The maid was alone.

"Madame," she began, her face as pale as ashes, "I have searched everywhere and she is not to be found. Madame knows that the great well in the courtyard is uncovered. Does madame think—"

She was interrupted by a sharp cry from the Marquise.

"Do you want to drive me mad? Let them drag it at once. But it is impossible. She has too much sense. You are trying to frighten me."

Hurrying out of the room she issued directions, as clear as grief and terror would allow, and soon messengers were scouring the country in every direction in search of the missing child.

Green and cool were the Coëtlogen woods on that lovely spring afternoon. The sun shone down through the branches, making great specks of light on the turf, and lighting up the gloomy depths into a scene of fairy-like beauty. Dancing down the woodland path, her white dress glancing in and out among the trees, came a little girl, scarcely six years of age. Her sunny hair floated over her shoulders, her appearance, that of a child delicately nurtured and cared for, showed plainly enough that she belonged to some noble house. Her hands were full of flowers, and still as she came along, and fresh ones met her view, she cast away those she carried to gather them. On all sides they clustered, primroses, violets, delicate anemones. Fresh beauties tempted her at every turn; on strayed the little feet, and still the little eager hand stretched out to pluck.

"She will be so pleased," she murmured happily, contemplating her treasures. "They are all for mamma, every one."

But gradually, gradually darkness fell upon the scene. The sun sank down to its rest: the shades of night gathered all round. With a sudden start the little one awoke to the fact, and for the first time realized that she was all alone. Alone in that great dark wood!

An awful stillness seemed to have fallen on everything; the birds had gone to rest, not a leaf stirred. Yet the air seemed full of that horrible "noise of the silence" that nervous people know so well, when the very beating of our own pulses resounds in our ears, strained to catch the slightest sound. An older person might well have been frightened, and she was but a child, though a brave one. She stood still, gazing fearfully around.

"Maman! Claude! Suzon!" she called. But only the echo answered. Then her heart failed her; her little face puckered up; she sat down and began to cry.

Presently a hand was laid on her head.

"Who art thou, child?" said a voice. "And why dost thou weep?"

She looked up and saw a woman bending over her. Her

courage returned directly she found she was no longer alone, and her tears stopped as if by magic.

"You are not to speak to me like that," she said, with a comical little air of dignity. "I am the Demoiselle Alice de Coëtlogon. Please to take me back to my mamma."

But before the words were well out of her mouth, she was caught up and held in a close embrace, while tears and passionate kisses rained on her face.

"My child! my child! At last I see thee again."

"How dare you!" cried Alice, struggling violently to get free. "I am not your child, you ugly peasant woman. My mamma is a beautiful lady. Let me go directly."

The words seemed to stab the unhappy woman to the heart. Her hold relaxed; she sank to the ground, and covered her face with her hands.

"God forgive me!" she groaned. "I sold my child. I reap the reward of my sin."

She rocked herself in silent anguish. Alice, breathless and panting from her recent encounter, stood watching her at a little distance. Gradually a feeling of pity stole into the warm little childish heart; she drew near and touched her on the shoulder.

"Do not cry, poor woman," she said. "I am sorry I called you ugly."

Tiphaine looked up; the agony in that upturned face was beyond Alice's comprehension, yet some dim perception of it seemed to strike her childish mind, for she suffered herself to be drawn once more into those encircling arms, and lay there quietly enough, as though some faint stirring of nature woke within her and made them home-like.

"My darling!" whispered Tiphaine, brokenly, stroking the sunny head. "My kind little heart! Ah, thou knowest not how these arms have ached for thee, how empty they have felt without thee."

Alice heard without paying much attention. She was puzzled and concerned at the woman's grief, but at that age children accept things unquestioningly. There is so much that is new and wonderful to them in the world. But a child's patience is soon exhausted; she began to grow weary and somewhat frightened of this strange, dark woman, who seemed, poor thing, so unhappy and so fond of her, but whom she never remembered to have seen before. She moved restlessly, wishing

to get away, yet not liking to be unkind. Her conscience still reproached her for her previous rudeness.

"You are better now, aren't you?" she asked, persuasively. "You won't cry any more? And please, will you take me home? It is getting so dark."

She shivered a little as she spoke. The trees looked so black and strange, like great ghosts bending over her. And her little heart was beginning to long for her mother. Tiphaine started as if aroused from some happy dream. Her face assumed a curious expression; she rose and took the child by the hand.

"Yes, I will take you home."

Satisfied with the assurance, Alice trotted by her side, her little feet keeping up with some difficulty with the woman's hasty strides. At last she could hardly drag one leg after the other. She lagged behind, and Tiphaine, perceiving it, stopped short.

"Poor child!" she said, compassionately. "Courage. We are almost there."

She caught her up in her strong arms as if she had been a feather's weight, and hurried on. A sudden turn in the road, and a little farmhouse lay before them, towards which Tiphaine bent her steps.

Alice recoiled.

"This is not my home," she exclaimed. "My home is the Château de Coëtlogon. Oh, mamma, mamma, where are you?"

A great feeling of desolation came over her, and worn out, spent with fear and fatigue, she burst into tears.

Tiphaine's brow grew black. She dragged the child in and shut the door.

"Be quiet, wilt thou?" she cried, shaking her roughly by the arm. "I am thy mother, not that other woman. And I will not let thee go."

Alice turned round indignantly.

"You are *not* my mother, you wicked woman," she sobbed. "Go away; I hate you. O mamma! mamma!"

Irritated beyond endurance, Tiphaine made a step forward, and her hand fell heavily on the child's shoulders. Never had Alice received a blow before. Its effect was to terrify her beyond measure. Her cries ceased; she shrank away cowering with fright, her great startled eyes wandering round with a pitiable expression of helpless appeal. But Tiphaine was still too transported with rage to be moved by it.

"Ay, thou mayest look!" she cried triumphantly. "There is no one to help thee. Thou art my child, and I mean to keep thee. And if thou provokest me thou knowest what to expect."

Alice made no answer; she was stupefied with fear. Till then she had never known what the word meant. Brought up in a peaceful, refined home, it was the first time she had ever come in contact with these violent passions of untrained human nature. Retreating into a corner, she looked on silently as Tiphaine began making her preparations for the evening meal. A feeling of remorse was growing in the latter's mind as her passion gradually subsided. She felt ashamed of her violence each time that her eye fell on the child's shrinking form. Yet she attempted to justify it to herself.

"I must break her in," she asserted, stifling the reproach of her conscience. "Once she learns to obey me, all will be well. And I will not give her up, when Heaven itself seems to have put her into my hands."

"Come," she said to Alice, when everything was ready. "Thou must need thy supper."

Timidly the child drew near, but when she tasted the coarse food, so different to what she was accustomed to, her palate revolted against it. She tried to eat, but in vain. The gloom deepened on Tiphaine's brow.

"Go," she said, harshly. "Thou wilt learn to eat it in time. What is good enough for thy mother is good enough for thee."

Alice slunk back into her corner. It was pitiable to see the change that had come over her in so short a time. A scared look replaced her bold, assured bearing, and her eyes, wide open and startled, followed every movement of the woman's, like a poor little bird fascinated by a snake.

Tiphaine was more angered than touched by the sight. In that wild nature love was more like a roaring torrent than a fertilizing stream. Yet the shrinking aversion of the child she idolized cut her to the heart. She would rather have seen the passionate defiance of a while ago, even while at the maddening recollection of the child's words, "I hate you! You are not my mother!" she felt capable of striking her again. Pride and jealousy still raged in her heart as she sat moodily gazing into the fire. Time passed on: Alice, wearied out with the unusual excitement she had gone through, had slid down to the ground, and fallen fast asleep. She lay there huddled up in a little heap,

when at last Tiphaine rose and came over to her side. Tears still lingered on the long black lashes, and now and then her little breast heaved convulsively as if even in sleep she could not escape the remembrance of her trouble. And as she gazed the mother's heart, wild and passionate, but yet a loving one, melted within her. Sinking on her knees she broke into passionate weeping.

"My child! my beloved one!" she sobbed. "Am I possessed by a devil that I could treat thee thus? My poor helpless little one! I am not fit to have thee."

Tenderly and softly for fear of awakening the little sleeper, she took her in her arms and began to undress her. As she bared the little white shoulder, all reddened still with the mark of her hand, a great fit of remorse overwhelmed her. A word and a blow are but a small matter in the peasant race to which Tiphaine belonged, and had Alice remained at home she would probably have felt the weight of her mother's hand ere now, and loved her little the less for it. Why then did it seem a sort of sacrilege now? The mother could not have explained it, but it seemed to her that between her and her child there was a great gulf fixed, and every evidence of gentle nurture in its dress and manner seemed to remove it further and further from her. With remorseful grief she pressed her lips to the cruel mark. She placed the little girl in the bed; then, seating herself again by the fire, she fell into a train of thought so deep and prolonged, that the first faint streaks of dawn penetrated through the window ere her meditations ended.

Was it only that pale light, or was it some hardly-won resolution that made her face so white as she rose, and with a sigh pushed back the heavy black hair that pressed on her forehead?

"It is just," she murmured to herself. "I gave her up when the other child died, and I have no right to take her back now. It is best to do it before Hervik returns. He might keep her in hopes of a reward."

She lay down on the bed and in a few moments fell into an exhausted sleep. The sun was high in the heavens when she awoke, but little Alice was sleeping still, and with a mixture of tenderness and grief the mother gazed down at the unconscious face so near her own.

"Farewell, my darling," she murmured. "It is for thy own sake that I give thee up. Thou wouldest not be happy with me."

Silently she rose, and began making her preparations. When Alice at last awoke she would hardly believe that the sad, kind face bending over her was the same that had inspired her with such terror the night before. With a care and skill that the child's own nurse could not have excelled, Tiphaine dressed her and arranged the fair wavy hair. At breakfast she waited on her with the same gentle sadness, brought her a cup of new milk fresh from the cow, and apologized for the black bread, which was all she had. But Alice, whose appetite was sharpened by her prolonged fast, ate it with hearty relish. Her eyes meanwhile were studying her hostess with mingled hope and curiosity, and when at last, the meal ended, she brought the little girl's hat and placed it on her head, Alice could keep silence no longer.

"Are you going to take me home?"

"Yes, my darling, I am going to take you home."

Alice was beginning to clap her hands for joy when she caught sight of the woman's face. It was so sad, so unutterably mournful that, forgetting all she had made her suffer, the little girl threw her arms round Tiphaine's neck and pressed her soft cheek to hers.

"Do not," she whispered consolingly. "Do not be so sorry. I would stay with you for a little while, but mamma and Claude will want me."

Her embrace was returned with passionate intensity, but without a word of reply. The poor woman's heart was too full for speech. Silently she took the child's hand and passed out into the fresh morning air. Their way lay through the same woods they had traversed the previous night, but how different they looked in the morning light! The birds sang in the trees overhead, the leaves and grass sparkled with dew in the sunshine. At last the castle came in sight, but Tiphaine turned aside from the principal entrance and made her way through a little postern-gate into the pleasure-garden. There she stopped, and kneeling down, took the child's two hands into hers.

"My sweet one," she said, "I must leave thee now. Thou wilt find thy way easily from here. But before I go let me hear thee say thou forgivest me."

Awed and only half comprehending, Alice repeated the words; then bounded away with a sense of relief, and ran up the stone steps that led to the terrace above. Lying on a bench,

face downwards, was a boy of about ten years of age. Alice stole softly up and touched him on the shoulder.

"Claude," she whispered.

He lifted his tear-stained face ; then started up, hardly able to believe his eyes.

"Alice ! Oh, dear little Alice ! is it really you ?" hugging her closely. "Where have you been ? But come," interrupting himself, "come to mamma."

Hand-in-hand the children ran into the house, down the long passages, till they came to the little sitting-room.

"Mother," cried Claude, flinging open the door, "she is found. Alice is here."

Madame de Coëtlogon turned : with an inarticulate cry of joy she held out her arms and Alice sprang into them. For a few moments they clung to one another with kisses and broken words of joy. At last the Marquise, still holding fast her newly-recovered treasure, regained sufficient composure to ask a few questions. She quickly recognized Tiphaine from the child's description.

"She said I was her child, mamma. What did she mean ?"

"She is your foster-mother, darling. Her little girl died when you were born."

Alice looked grave for a moment.

"Poor thing !" she said, thoughtfully. "I am so sorry."

But the shade of gravity soon passed away, and her natural gaiety reasserted itself.

"Richard," said Madame de Coëtlogon, reproachfully, turning to a boy who sat reading in a corner of the room, "art thou not glad to see thy sister ?"

"I knew she would be all right," said the boy, ungraciously, rising, however, and coming forward. "I told Claude so, but he wouldn't listen."

His mother sighed, but said nothing. That sullen, reserved disposition of her younger boy filled her with uneasy previsions when she thought of the future. Alice and Claude were open as the day, but Richard's nature reminded one of those dark, gloomy pools in the heart of the forests, whose silent depths contain secrets that will never be revealed.

Alice was in her glory that afternoon, recounting all her adventures to her brothers. Only one thing the generous little heart kept to itself—the blow she had received.

"She *was* ugly, you know, Claude," she confided, "though

I was naughty to say so. Mamma says we should always be kind to poor people. She was like that great brown head in the vestibule. And her eyes were black."

"Thine eyes are black too," put in Richard, maliciously.

"They are not," cried Alice, indignantly, stamping her foot. "Thou sayest it to vex me. They are not, Claude, are they?"

"They *are* dark, Alice," Claude was forced to acknowledge. "But they are lovely eyes. I heard Uncle Yvon say so, and you know he is never over-ready to admire anything in us."

CHAPTER V.

YEARS have gone by when we again take up the thread of our story; years that have dimmed the fire of Tiphaïne's flashing eyes, and traced many a line of care in the fair, sweet face of the Marquise de Coëtlogon; years that have changed the bright-faced little girl into a stately maiden, almost too tall were not her figure so finely proportioned. Years that have wrought in France one of the greatest changes that history relates; in which an effete and worn-out system, crumbling to its destruction, was suddenly upheaved by the struggling, vigorous life beneath, with consequences that we shudder to think of. The people were drunk with the new wine of liberty, and horrible were the excesses committed in its name.

It is easy for us who look back through a mist of years to judge calmly of that terrible struggle, and to see how in the end good came out of evil. By-and-bye the air would be clearer; but to those who lived in the glare and heat of the explosion it was difficult to believe that any good could come of it. In all great upheavals the scum rises to the top, and the innocent suffer for the guilty.

The curtains are closely drawn in the great salon; a blazing fire of logs burns on the hearth. Beside it reclines on a couch the mistress of the château. She is beautiful still, with a beauty over which time has little power, but the shadow which lay on her brow when we last beheld her, has deepened to a settled melancholy. All too truly had that presentiment been fulfilled which had oppressed her heart when her husband left her for the first time years ago. He had come back to her indeed, but not

the same. His weak, impulsive nature, easily led whether for good or for evil, had fallen under the baneful influence of his younger brother. The love for his wife and children still lingered at the bottom of his heart, but as a thing to be ashamed of and suppressed. It was only the bourgeois class that indulged in the domestic affections. His short, hurried visits, in which he was invariably accompanied by his brother, grew rarer and more rare, and too proud to complain, too gentle to reprove, his wife gradually settled down into a twilight existence that contrasted sadly with the memories of the past.

From this came a terrible awakening. Her husband, challenged to a duel by a man whom he had shamefully wronged, had fallen by the avenging hand of his injured friend, and had left her not even his memory to cherish. And following closely on this crushing blow came the outbreak of the Revolution.

It was a time when brother was armed against brother, children against their parents ; when a man's foes were of his own household, and those whom he trusted most were the first to betray him. Madame de Coëtlogon's sons took opposite sides. Claude joined the Vendean army ; Richard, following the lead of his uncle, had from the first espoused the Liberal cause. They supposed it was thanks to his protection, that the old château had been left so long unmolested. In which they did him injustice ; he was too true a patriot to have hesitated at sacrificing his family to his country—or rather to his own ambition. Yet some mysterious influence was evidently exerted in their favour. Close as they were to the Republican stronghold of Brest, they had never yet been subjected to the horrors of a domiciliary visit. Terrible tales reached them of châteaux burnt to the ground, of women and children slaughtered in cold blood by the pitiless Blues. Yet still the mother and daughter lived on their quiet life in the old home, sheltered from the storm whose echoes only reached their ears.

Outwardly it is a picture of domestic peace on which our eyes rest this evening ; the beautiful old room which the touch of a woman's hand has endowed with that undefinable homelike charm that money cannot buy, the very moaning of the wind in the turrets without, only enhancing the sense of rest and security within. Yet the hearts of its occupants are heavy enough, and a deep irrepressible sigh breaks from the lips of Madame de Coëtlogon. At the sound a beautiful young girl who is kneeling at her feet looks up quickly.

"Dear mother, you are sad," taking her hand, still so soft and white, and kissing it tenderly.

"How can I be otherwise, Alice? It is months since we heard from Claude, and I tremble when I think what the next news may be."

"Nay, mother darling, why will you ever look on the dark side? For me, I am sure we must conquer in the end. We have right on our side."

The mother sighed again. Her experience of life was deeper than her daughter's, and she knew that right is not always might. Suddenly she started up.

"Alice, what is that?" in a quick, frightened whisper.

"What, mother? I heard nothing."

"Listen. At the window. There, I hear it again."

She was trembling like a leaf. Alice turned her head and listened. In the silence a faint cautious tapping was distinctly audible against the centre window. The young girl rose to her feet, and moved towards it. She was arrested by her mother's cry.

"Alice, where are you going."

"To open the window."

"Child, what are you thinking of? If it should be the Blues."

"The Blues do not come so quietly. It is some poor fugitive seeking shelter. You would not refuse it, mother? For Claude's sake."

The mother hesitated. Then that appeal conquered.

"For Claude's sake," she murmured. "And may God repay it to him in his need."

Without giving her time to change her mind, Alice unbarred the shutter and opened the window. Out from the wet, windy night stepped a young man in the dress of a peasant, his clothes drenched through to the skin, and his fair hair matted with damp. With a wild cry Alice threw herself into his arms, regardless of his dripping condition. It was Claude himself!

The next minute he was kneeling at his mother's feet, and she was tasting the first moment of unmixed joy that she had known for many months. But it was not of long duration; soon, too soon, the shade of anxiety returned to her brow.

"Oh, Claude," she uttered, "is this safe? Are they not on your track?"

"Be at ease, dearest mother," he answered, reassuringly. "I

am not pursued. But it is better that none but you and Alice should know I am here. Only—I should be glad of some dry clothes if I could get them."

"My poor boy! You are drenched to the skin. What shall we do, Alice?"

"Let him come up to my room, mother. The servants never venture up the tower staircase after dark. They are too frightened of ghosts."

His mother's helpless, appealing tone had struck Claude, and he turned to look more closely at the girl who had become so young the prop and mainstay of the house. He saw a sister whom any brother might have been proud to own—a beautiful young woman with a grave, serene face as of one who had known responsibility and trouble, but was strong enough to bear them both. The golden hair of her childhood had deepened to a chestnut brown; her mouth had acquired a curiously steadfast expression. But her eyes were unchanged—the glorious dark eyes that Claude remembered so well, whose clear transparent depths seemed like windows into her candid soul. He held out his hand to her with a smile.

"I will trust myself to Alice, mother—to her head as well as to her heart. But first," he hesitated, "I have something to give you."

He drew a letter from his breast. But as his mother stretched out her hand to take it he held it back.

"Wait a moment," he said, hurriedly. "It will trouble you, mother. It will reawaken old memories and old sorrows. Are you strong enough to bear it?"

"What do you mean, my son? What can trouble me when I know that you and Alice are safe?"

"I took it," he continued, still keeping it back, "from a dying prisoner at Chatillon. It ought to have reached you three years ago, but he was seized for the conscription. Mother, that prisoner was my father's old valet, Jerome. Can you not guess?"

Madame de Coëtlogon had turned very pale. She fixed her eyes beseechingly on Claude, but did not speak.

"Give it to her, Claude," whispered Alice. "She cannot bear the suspense."

He put it into her hand. A mist swam before her eyes as she recognized her husband's writing. Mutely she motioned to her children to leave her. She could not read it before them.

As the door closed behind them she sank down with the letter in her hand. It was a message from the dead to the living. She was afraid to open it. Ah! when we are young we meet emotion half-way. Anything is better to our impatience than suspense. But as we grow older we learn to dread the unknown, and to shrink from what knowledge may bring us.

At length with trembling fingers she broke the seal and read :

My dearest wife, I write this to you on what is in all probability the last night of my life. You will only receive these lines when the fingers that trace them are cold in death. Let that thought move you to mercy and pardon. God is my witness that if I survive to-morrow I will lead a new life, and endeavour to atone to you for all that I have made you suffer. But of that there is scarcely a chance. The man whom I have wronged is the most practised swordsman in Paris, and he has right on his side.

I will not grieve you with a confession that could only give you pain. But I entreat you to believe that at the bottom of my heart I have always loved you, and that while to men I can proudly say I am ready to answer for what I have done, to you I can only repeat, forgive me.

Sweetheart, the thought of you and our happy days long ago keeps haunting me to-night. What a mad fool I have been, and how little pleasure my folly has brought me! You will be happier without me. The children you have brought up so well will make up to you for their father's faults. One thing I ask of you with my dying breath—keep my sons from their uncle Yvon. I will not lay to his charge the faults of my own folly and weakness, but God preserve my children from growing up like him!

And now farewell, dear wife, sweet friend, whom I have used so ill. I shall die with your image in my heart, your name on my lips. And may God forgive me for your sake.

They came, the blessed tears, like a healing torrent, washing away the bitterness of years. He was dead, she would never see him again while life endured, but he was her own once more, and none could take him from her. Henceforth his memory might lie enshrined in her heart, the memory of the lover and husband of her youth, and sinking on her knees her mingled emotions found vent in broken words of thankfulness and prayer.

She was aroused by a loud repeated knocking at the castle gate. This was no fugitive seeking shelter, but a peremptory demand for admittance with the power to enforce it. With

beating heart she rose to her feet, but ere she could make a step towards the door Alice hurried into the room.

"It is the Blues, mother. But be not alarmed. Claude is safe."

CHAPTER VI.

BROTHER and sister, so long parted, so fondly attached to one another, were enjoying all the delight of their sudden reunion. They loved one another so dearly, those two, with a love passing the common affection that unites the members of one family. Each was secretly taking note of the change that had taken place in the other; Alice feeling her heart swell with pride as her eyes rested on the tall form of her handsome brother, and marked the bold soldierly bearing, the habit of command that betrayed itself in tone and manner; Claude struck more and more with the noble beauty into which the little girl had blossomed whom he had left three years ago. It was the beauty rather of a woman than of a girl, with a maturity of form and splendour of colouring rare among the refined race of which he came. But if that ripe, warm loveliness wanted something of the delicate grace that distinguished the Marquise de Coëtlogon, it had a dignity of its own that fully supplied its place. A woman to be loved and trusted, and a woman who could love in return with a prodigal generosity that counted no sacrifice in the cause of those she cared for.

Suddenly, in the midst of their eager interchange of questions, the sound of horses' hoofs struck on Alice's ear. She stopped short, rushed to the window, and flung it open. The castle was built in the form of a quadrangle, and Alice's room, at the further extremity, overlooked the road. The moon shone out from behind a cloud; she saw the glint of helmets, and heard the clinking of sabres borne on the wind.

"The Blues! Quick, Claude, you must hide."

"Never, Alice. What! leave you and my mother to encounter them alone. What do you take me for?"

"Claude, I implore you. If you love me!" she cried distractedly, trying to force him to the door. "We are losing time, and it is so precious. It is you who run the greatest danger."

"Danger and I are old acquaintances, *ma mie*."

"But, Claude," a bright idea striking her in her desperation,

"without you we are safe. It is you who make our danger—you, an officer of the Vendean army. The mother and sister of Richard are safe alone."

Claude's eyes flashed.

"The disloyal traitor! I would almost sooner see you suffer than owe your safety to such a plea. Oh, Alice," with a mixture of anger and tenderness, "do you know what you are asking me? To skulk like a rat in a hole while my mother and sister are left defenceless."

But she paid little heed to his words. He was yielding, that was the main point.

"You are endangering us all by your delay," she repeated, pressing the argument which she had found most effective. And dragging him out of the room and up a short flight of stairs, she opened a cupboard in the wall. Pulling out a ladder she placed it against a great iron hook in the ceiling.

"There is a trap-door in the roof," she repeated hurriedly. "It is the old *grenier*, dost thou not remember? where we used to hide. Mount quickly, Claude, and pull up the ladder after you."

"One kiss first, Alice darling," said her brother, taking her in his arms. She clung to him for a moment, as those who when they part know not how they may meet again; then started away. Her quick ear had caught the sound of the first blows at the castle gate.

"Hasten, Claude," she cried, "I dare not stay longer. Adieu, adieu, my darling, and may God keep you safe."

She sped away down the staircase and was lost to sight.

The trembling servants were collected in the hall, afraid to obey the imperious summons, and equally afraid of the consequences of resistance, when their young lady, pale but composed, appeared in the midst of them.

"René," she said, addressing the gray-haired old major-domo, "Madame la Marquise desires you to open the gates."

"But, mademoiselle," began the old man, holding up his hands in horror.

"We have no means of resistance," interrupted Alice. "And further delay will only exasperate them. You have your orders."

The habit of obedience prevailed. With uncertain steps the old servant hobbled across the courtyard. The key grated in the lock, the bolts shot back, and aided by a vigorous shove

from without the gates fell back, and a travelling carriage rolled into the square, surrounded by some half-dozen soldiers.

"*Sacré gredin !*" cried the foremost of these, dealing a heavy blow as he spoke at the servant, which the latter with some difficulty evaded. "One would think you were all asleep or dead in this nest of aristocrats. Is this the way you receive the representatives of the nation? It would serve you right to burn the place down about your ears."

"Hush, citizen," said in an under-tone a young man who had just alighted from the carriage, and who was dressed with an extreme of neatness and even elegance rare in the Republican party. "We must not excite suspicion. Remember," with a sardonic smile, "this is supposed to be only a visit of affection to my family."

The remark was received with an approving chuckle by the troopers.

"We are to leave you then, citizen? *Ca sent fièrement le royaliste ici !*"

"Never fear, I can take care of myself. And I know where to find you when I want you. But you would like some refreshment before you go."

"*Ma foi !* It is not to be refused. That brush with the brigands was thirsty work."

"René," said the young man, turning round, but at the sound of his voice a cry escaped the old man-servant.

"Monsieur Richard!" bowing profoundly. "A thousand pardons, but I never guessed. Monsieur was not expected."

"Probably not," was the dry reply. "See that some refreshments are given to the citizens. They have still some way to go."

He turned to enter the house. But he stopped short with a sort of *éblouissement*. Alice had come out on the steps. With her white dress detached against the dark building, the moonlight flooding her form and chiselling out every line of her features, she looked gloriously beautiful. Richard was completely dazzled.

"Alice!" he muttered under his breath. "Can this be Alice?"

And springing up the steps, "A brother's privilege, sweet sister," he exclaimed, and bent to kiss her cheek.

Could this be Richard? wondered Alice in her turn, unconsciously leaving her hand in his. This handsome, polished

young man the sullen boy she remembered? Then came another thought, and she drew back with an involuntary shudder. What stains of blood defiled that hand that clasped her own with a brother's familiarity? What fellowship could there be between her and the agent of Fouquier Tinville? Something of this he read in her face, and his own grew dark.

"I see," he bitterly observed, "I am judged and condemned unheard. The representative of the Republic, though he be your own brother, must not hope to find favour in your eyes."

But at these words all the importance of conciliating him, the danger of offending him, rushed on Alice's mind.

"Nay, Richard," she said hastily, "you are welcome. This is your home, though it is long since you have remembered it. Let me take you to our mother."

And she led the way down the passage. At the door of the salon she paused.

"You will let me prepare her a little? She is not strong, and the surprise——"

He nodded, and she went in, closing the door behind her.

Madame de Coëtlogon had passed the time of Alice's absence in an agony of suspense and fear. At the sight of her daughter she started up with a cry of relief.

"My child!" holding out her hands. "Thank God, I see you safe."

"There is nothing to fear, mother. It is only Richard. But for Heaven's sake," lowering her voice, "do not let him suspect that Claude is here."

"Richard! What brings him here?"

"Is it so strange that a son should wish to see his mother?" said he, advancing into the room.

"No, my son," returned the Marquise with dignity. "The strangeness is rather that the wish should have come so late."

Alice had started at his entrance. Could he have heard her words? But he showed no sign of having done so, and leading his mother to the sofa, was proceeding to make the peace which her last words showed it was necessary should be re-established between them. There are some creatures, born to prey upon their fellow-men, to whom nature has given a sweetness of voice whose power over others is like the fascination of the serpent. Insensibly under its influence their prejudices melt away, their suspicions vanish, and they are left defenceless.

This gift was Richard's. Alice listened like one in a dream

as the sweet, plausible accents flowed on, feeling her own power of resistance rapidly fading away, and seeing her mother completely succumbing to the spell. And all the while those keen cat-like eyes were taking in every detail of the room, noting the unusual disorder of its appearance, the muddy footmarks that stained the crimson carpet, and that led, not from the door, whence indeed his own polished shoes had left not a trace of their passage, but from that window of which the shutter was left unbarred. He was piecing it all together as he talked, without impatience, with something of the interest with which one fits the parts of an intricate puzzle. Only in this case the pieces were human beings, and the game that he played was for their lives.

At length Madame de Coëtlogon, wearied out with the different emotions she had gone through that evening, rose from her seat. She bade her son good-night with more cordiality than she would have imagined possible a little while ago, and left the room. Alice was about to follow when Richard detained her.

"Alice," he said in a tone of gentle reproach, "you do not trust me. You are unjust to me. If my convictions have forced me to take a different side in the struggle from the one that you hold dear, have I therefore ceased to be your brother? Is Claude," emphasizing the name, "to engross all your affection?"

She started violently. With an involuntary impulse her eyes sought that tell-tale window, then hastily averted themselves. Richard quietly noted the movement.

"Why do you speak to me like this?" she uttered constrainedly, looking away. "What have I said or done?"

"Your looks say more than you fancy, Alice. You have a speaking countenance. Well, perhaps I deserve it," with an affectation of sad humility. "I valued your affection too little in the past, and now, when I would give so much to possess it, it is denied me. But I will conquer it yet. I will show you that I deserve your confidence." He lowered his voice and, keeping his eyes fixed on her face, "Alice," he whispered, "if there is any fugitive at hand in whom you take an interest, do not tell me his hiding-place. For your sake I would try to be blind and deaf, but remember I am the servant of the Republic, and I dare not shrink from my duty if it stares me in the face."

She had grown pale to her very lips. Were they on his track after all, and had Richard meant this as a warning? If so, she had misjudged him indeed, and she looked up with a quick impulse of repentance. But the words died away on her lips as she remembered what he had said. With one swift grateful glance, more eloquent than she guessed, she turned away, and Richard was left alone.

His face relaxed as if relieved from some constraining mask, and a cold, cruel smile crossed his mouth.

"That was well played," he muttered with satisfaction. "To make my own game sure, and gain credit with her at the same time. How thoroughly she betrayed herself, but what a glorious creature she is; and to think that she is Hervik's daughter! After all, we nobles are a worn-out race, and would be none the worse for a little mixture of red peasant blood."

He walked over to the fire-place, and stood looking down at the flames with knitted brows.

"So Claude is here," he said presently. "It simplifies matters in one way, but it will require delicate management. I must not seem to have any hand in the affair. I have a notion it would spoil my chance with her. Luckily she has no suspicion yet that he is not her brother. A few days' start is all I ask, and then she may find out anything she likes. She is half won already."

He fell into a train of absorbing thought from which he was only roused by the castle clock striking midnight. The fire had got low, and the room felt cold and cheerless. He rose with a little shiver, and drawing his travelling cloak over his shoulders, moved towards the door. On the threshold he paused, and looked back into the room with a curious smile. "A fine old house," he said. "It would have been a pity to destroy it. This is a better way on the whole."

Reviews.

I.—LIFE OF LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.¹

WE are unable to insert in our present number, owing to an unavoidable accident, more than a brief notice of this most interesting Life. We regret this the more on account of the deep obligation THE MONTH is under to Lady Georgiana Fullerton, who generously wrote two of her best stories for its pages, besides other occasional contributions. To her THE MONTH in great measure owes the commencement of its success and a lasting debt of gratitude. In our next issue we hope to bring her Life before our readers with more of the fulness that it deserves. By way of preface to our future notice we will only mention one fact, which is of importance to the due appreciation of the book. It is not a mere translation from the French: this would deprive the English edition of half its interest. There is in every biography written in a foreign tongue much that is, if not unsuitable, at least less suitable to those who speak a tongue other than that in which it was written. This is not all. There is sure to be a great deal to add, as well as something to omit, especially in the Life of one who was such a thorough Englishwoman. Much that is intensely interesting north of the Channel would be ill adapted to those who live south of it. As Father Coleridge says in the Preface :

It was inevitable that there should be some things in the life, both religious and literary, with which a French writer would find herself not quite at home, and also which would require greater expansion when put before the English public. . . . There were two points on which it seemed to me that an Englishman could speak with more clearness than any foreigner. Those two are the religious phase which passed over the country fifty years ago, in connection with the Oxford Movement, and which landed Lady Georgiana and so many others in the

¹ *Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton.* From the French of Mrs. Augustus Craven. By Henry James Coleridge, of the Society of Jesus. London : Bentley and Son, 1888.

fold of the Catholic Church. The other point relates to Lady Georgiana's position as an English writer. On these two points, therefore, I have ventured to rewrite some of the remarks of Mrs. Craven. (Preface, pp. vi., vii.)

Moreover, there are many things in a French biography to which the best of translators can scarcely give an English dress. There is always need of some one who knew the subject of it, and, besides adding and omitting, would be able to re-write where a mere translation would be unsatisfactory to the reader. This is the task in which Father Coleridge has employed his pen with his accustomed skill. A mere glance at the book is sufficient to convince us of this. For a more detailed account of it we must ask our readers' patience till next month.

2.—THE CARTHUSIAN MARTYRS.¹

The Prior of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster, and his Brethren, who have reintroduced the Carthusian observance into England, have offered to their common Father St. Bruno a memorial of the Fathers and Brothers of their Order who suffered martyrdom in England under Henry the Eighth. By so doing they have established a link between themselves and the ancient English Carthusians, and at the same time they have erected a monument worthy of the blessed Martyrs whom they are now permitted to invoke. The book which Father Doreau has edited with such loving care it would be quite impossible to praise beyond its merits. The rich hand-made paper, the fine bold type of the French Carthusian Press at Montreuil-sur-mer, the parchment cover white as the Carthusian habit, the illustrations taken from the ancient pictures that have adorned the churches of Charterhouses in many countries, combine to make this charming book as nearly perfect as needs be. And it has been placed within the reach of scholars and readers of all nations by the smallness of the price for which it is sold.

All this lavish care has been bestowed on the simple and

¹ *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum*, maxime octodecim Cartusianorum sub Rege Henrico VIII. ob fidei confessionem et summi Pontificis jura vindicanda interemptorum, a V. Patre domino Mauritio Chauncey, Londiniensis Cartusiae professo conscripta; nunc ad exemplar primæ Editionis Moguntinæ Anno 1550 excusæ a Monachis Cartusiae St. Hugonis in Anglia denuo edita. Monstrolii : Typis Cartusiae St. Marie de Pratis, 1888.

touching narrative of the condition and downfall of the London Charterhouse, written by one of its monks. This document is invaluable as giving us an insight into the state of one at least of those grand monastic houses in England, on which the heavy hand of a rapacious King so grievously fell. All the inmates are not drawn as perfect, nor did even all those whom its pages teach us to respect, persevere in fidelity to the path marked out for them by the first victims of Henry's anger. But it is of great importance for us to know that the blow fell heaviest where it was least deserved ; and that the London Carthusians were, till their house was suppressed in blood, worthy of the love that was undoubtedly borne to them by the citizens amongst whom they dwelt. Dom Maurice Chauncey's book enables us to see the religious in their usual monastic life before the storm burst, and again in the incomparably more trying condition, when the remnant persevered in their monastic duties, after that their Martyrs had been sent from their midst to Heaven, and they had in their stead quartered amongst them the agents of the tyrant Cromwell. Even when they were forcibly expelled from their ancient homes, a handful of the English Carthusians kept together in exile, and found refuge in the Charterhouse near Bruges ; and when the accession of Mary gave a gleam of hope that England might be once more Catholic, they were recalled by the Queen and Cardinal Pole and placed in the ancient Charterhouse of Sheen. When Mary's death brought disappointment to the land, they left England once more, and after a short renewal of their life in the Charterhouse at Bruges they were sufficiently numerous to be authorized to commence an English house, under the name of Sheen Anglorum, which should perpetuate the race of the Carthusians of our country. Dom Maurice Chauncy had been made their Prior when they were summoned to England, and under him the English Charterhouse in Flanders began. First at Bruges, then at Louvain, and after his time at Nieuport, they continued an unbroken existence until the French Revolution broke this link between the old times and the new. We have lived to see the thread taken up again by the colony of the unchanged old Order of St. Bruno, happily planted amongst us by the Grande Chartreuse itself.

Maurice Chauncey was born, about the year 1513, of a knightly family in the county of Hertford. He received his education at Oxford and in Grays Inn, and was about twenty

when he entered the House of the Annunciation, so well known to us as the London Charterhouse. Though professed, he was not a priest when the persecutor strove to destroy his hopes of a religious life. His Prior was the Blessed John Houghton who, with his fellow-priors of Beauvale and Axholme, a Bridgettine Father and a secular priest, died on May 4, 1535, the first of the glorious band of English Martyrs who shed their blood for the Supremacy of the Pope. Three Martyrs followed them on the 19th of June, and four monks were sent to other houses of their Order in the north of England, two of whom were martyred at York on May 11, 1537. That Chauncey should have been one of the four is an evident token that, young as he was, he was animated with the spirit of the Martyrs in his resistance to the Royal Supremacy. On his recall to London, he was overpersuaded by the Confessor-General of Sion, who had been Blessed John Houghton's supporter, but had now unfortunately changed his mind. On his return to the London Charterhouse after this interview, Chauncey reverted to his former fidelity to the Pope, but he relapsed, so that when ten of his brethren who are now Martyrs were sent to Newgate to be starved to death, he was not one of them, and his name is found in the list of signatures to the King's supremacy, and of the monks who were to receive a pension. It is unlikely that he ever touched his pittance, for he went abroad to Bruges as we have already seen, and he bewailed his weakness to the end of his life. That life must have been one of extreme austerity, for when he died in 1581 an iron chain, that he had constantly worn in the spirit of penance, was found adhering to his flesh. Dom Maurice met his holy death in the Charterhouse of Paris on his return from a journey to Spain, where he had successfully petitioned Philip the Second for a maintenance for his starving religious then at Louvain. We gather these latter details from the records of the Order as published by Father Doreau, who thus enables us to rectify Dodd's inaccurate statement that Father Chauncey died at Bruges.

Dom Chauncey's book was written at once on his landing in the Low Countries, for it was dedicated to Father John Gaillard, General of the Order, who died June 27, 1540. Some additions were subsequently made by him, for the book contains mention of the martyrdom of Blessed William Horne, in August, 1540, the execution of Cromwell in that year, and even the gift

of the London Charterhouse to Lord North in 1544. In fact, it would seem probable that Chauncey's original letter to his Father General swelled under his hands into a little book.

The first edition was published at Mayence in 1550, but it is clear that Chauncey himself had no opportunity of correcting the press. From this edition Father Doreau has taken the text, which he prints with scholarly-like care, pointing out and carefully correcting its errors. One of them is curious enough to deserve remark. Chauncey's words *in loco Tyburn* make their appearance, owing to the Mayence printer's misreading, in the travestied form, *in loco bubali*. The correction reflects credit on Father Doreau's acuteness, and when suggested, the shapes of the letters of Chauncey's MS. word *Tyburn* present themselves to our imaginations.

Leaving to writers of history the boon of an accessible and carefully printed text of Chauncey's delightful work, we have in conclusion a single objection to make to an opinion upon which Père Doreau has acted. He has inserted in his volume some valuable papers respecting the martyrdoms of BB. Fisher, More, Reynolds, Hales, and the three Carthusian Priors. Undoubtedly he is perfectly right in printing the papers as he has done; for they have accompanied Chauncey's narrative from the beginning. But we cannot agree with him in attributing the authorship of them to Chauncey. For this opinion he quotes several authors, mostly continental writers of the seventeenth century, who would naturally be deceived by the juxtaposition of the papers. He also quotes Father James Long, Prior of Nieuport in 1739, whose MS. history of the English Carthusian houses is the property of the English convent at Bruges; and he refers to Sir Henry Chauncey's notice of his kinsman in his *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, published in London in 1700. These two writers have no better grounds for their judgment. Father Doreau also quotes the title of a Cambridge MS., calendared by Mr. Gairdner, which runs thus: "MS. of M. Channey's works on the martyrdoms of More and Fisher and of Charterhouse monks." The mistaken form of Chauncey's name is evidently taken from the misprint of the Mayence edition of 1550, and this is therefore no independent authority. We entirely agree with Father Doreau in not attributing these English historical tracts to the Prior and Procurator of Mayence, who are the authors of the letter introductory to the whole book. They certainly could not have written them. Our suggestion

would be that they are the translation into Latin of the accounts of these martyrdoms which Mr. Gairdner calls "the graphic News Letter, of which copies were diffused over Europe, translated into Spanish, German, and other languages as well. Two different German translations of it were printed in Germany that same year."² The date of the French version which Mr. Gairdner gives, collated with the Spanish, is August 4, 1535, which was long before Chauncey took to writing. The Mayence editors had their German versions at hand, and doubtless to them we owe the Latin dress of these opuscula. The style, we may add, bears no resemblance to Chauncey's.

Thanking Father Doreau for having left us this little point on which we may exercise our prerogative of criticism, we have but to add how willingly we shall welcome a connected history of the London Charterhouse from the pen of one of the Fathers of Parkminster. We are happy to think that our hopes will speedily be fulfilled.

3.—LECTURES ON NATURAL THEOLOGY.¹

Father Fleming has recently published the lectures on natural theology given by him whilst he held the chair of mental philosophy in the English College at Valladolid. Within the small compass of some one hundred and thirty-six pages in octavo and large print the learned author expounds the chief questions concerning God, His attributes, and His relation to the world. The way in which they are treated shows traces both of an earnest effort of mind and of trustful docility towards St. Thomas and other Doctors of the Church. The well-chosen passages from their works with which the author's own statements are repeatedly interwoven are among the most pleasing features of the book. The lectures are meant for future theologians and therefore rightly given in scholastic form.

The work consists of fourteen *dissertations* preceded by *Prolegomena* well adapted to inspire students with interest. Of the dissertations four are devoted to the discussion of the

² Vol. viii. Preface, p. xxxviii.

¹ *Prelectiones Philosophicae quas in Collegio Anglorum Vallisoleti, olim habebat Thomas Quintianus Fleming in eodem Collegio philosophiae mentalis professor. Ontologice Pars Tertia. De Ente Increato. Londini: Auctoris impensis typis mandatae, 1888.*

arguments for the existence of God. The six following treat of His nature and absolute attributes, whilst the doctrine on the so-called relative attributes (Creation, Conservation, Concurrence, Providence) occupies the next two. Then there follows a dissertation against Manichean Dualism, and another against Pantheism. The refutation of both these theories is of the highest importance for our age. Manichean Dualism has been praised by John Stuart Mill as a theory standing "wholly clear both of intellectual contradiction and of moral obliquity,"² and the fundamental principles of Pantheism poison to a large extent modern thought regarding the origin of the universe.

The solid mental food which Father Fleming puts before his readers wants much digesting in order to be properly assimilated. His book is not of the number of those which can be duly appreciated from mere cursory reading. We have here in three or four lines often more depth of thought than in many other books in several pages. This endeavour to say much in few words has however caused occasional obscurities which in a future edition would be better removed.

As regards opinions controverted among Catholic philosophers, we join our author heartily in not admitting the ontological argument as a valid proof against Atheists. Yet we do not think that it is to be rejected as altogether worthless. The attacks made upon it on pp. 13 and 14 could be well answered by its defenders. As St. Anselm said rightly against Gaunilo who made similar objections, the *posse* and *esse* in the object of the idea of an Infinite Being are connected with one another in such a way that their connection in the objects of the ideas of other beings cannot be compared with it. We think that a solid refutation of St. Anselm's argument is only feasible by proving that one of the premises *in the place assigned to it* is not evident. Indeed it is not evident *a priori* that there is no internal contradiction in the idea of the *Ens quo majus cogitari nequit*. On page 88, *scientia media* is defined as the *cognitio certa et infallibilis quam Deus de rebus possidet conditionate futuris*. This definition, whilst it has the advantage of defining what may be reasonably called *scientia media* and what certainly is proper to the Divine Nature according to all Catholic philosophers, has at the same time the disadvantage of not marking off accurately what is commonly meant by the term.

For more particulars we refer the friends of scholastic

² *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 116.

philosophy to the book itself to which we wish great success in promoting the study of the most important branch of philosophic learning.

4—A PLAIN REASON FOR JOINING THE CHURCH OF ROME.¹

One of the most hopeful signs in connection with the controversy with Anglicans is the way in which they fight the battle more and more on matters of central interest. The struggle is for the citadel. The attack used formerly to be made on what we may call outworks, or at least on portions of the city the capture of which did not at once put the whole in possession of the victor. Formerly it was devotion to our Blessed Lady that was attacked, or Indulgences, or the Eucharistic Sacrifice; now it is Papal Supremacy and Papal Infallibility against which the enemies of the Church chiefly inveigh. It is no longer a question of individual doctrines, but of the authority to teach as infallibly true any doctrine at all. This change of venue is most important and most encouraging. It opens up the historical question, and compels honest Anglicans to look to the rock whence they were hewn. It, moreover, forces upon them more than ever the question whether a body of dogmatic truth can ever subsist without a living voice competent to declare what is false and what is true, or whether, for the matter of that, a visible and organized religious body is possible without a visible Head. The historical challenge has been taken up by Anglicans, and they are searching the records of the past to discover some instance incompatible with the supreme and universal authority of the Holy See. Failing this, they are eagerly looking out for occasions where the Pope *ought* to have spoken infallibly, and to have been treated accordingly, but did not do so, and for whatever negative evidence they can collect from the silence of early writers and early records, and from the supposed absence in Holy Scripture of any proof of the Papal claims.

Unfortunately, or we should rather say fortunately, for them, each of these issues proves fatal to their cause. There is no Pope whose authority has not been duly recognized by all good and faithful Catholics. There is no Pope who declined to

¹ *Authority, or a Plain Reason for joining the Church of Rome.* By Luke Rivington, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1888.

exercise his gift when he would certainly have exercised it if it had been in his possession. There is, moreover, in the writings of the Fathers enough and to spare to show the continuous tradition (though in the first four centuries necessarily faint and rare), while in the Gospels there is proof incontrovertible of the position of the Prince of the Apostles and of the authority intrusted to him, which proof Fathers and Doctors illustrate and confirm. In this position of affairs a book like Mr. Rivington's is most opportune. He himself was but a short time since a zealous and able defender of Anglican claims. In all good faith he nursed the prejudices of a lifetime, till at length, under the influence of grace, the scales fell from his eyes, and exclaiming, "Whereas I was blind, now I see," he made his submission to the authority which hitherto he had unconsciously blasphemed. Such a step is in itself an overwhelming evidence for the truth of the Catholic claims. When a man of undoubted ability and honesty, who has been the champion of a cause, turns round and deserts it as untenable, and this in opposition to long prejudice, worldly interests, and to the apparent ruin of his influence and standing, what sober-minded man or woman can fail to ask themselves, Must there not be some very powerful influence at work to induce this right-about-face, that every motive save one condemns as suicidal folly? Who is not bound to pause and ask, Could aught but a love of truth induce a man so to act? and can such an unselfish lover of truth be allowed by God to deceive himself? Such an example outweighs all the authority of Anglican doctors in their snug canonries and rich benefices, self-satisfied centres around which their unfortunate followers revolve, and on whom they depend in unquestioning and ill-directed loyalty.

But we are concerned, not with Mr. Rivington himself, but with his book. We have read it with great satisfaction on many grounds. His greatest enemy cannot doubt the sincerity of the writer, or fail to admire his earnestness and courage. The cultivated and critical reader will be attracted by the vigour of the style and its literary excellence. There is an *élan* about it—it never flags. The author has something important to say and knows how to say it. Moreover, it is hard to see how any unprejudiced man, or even any man who is not blinded by and rooted in his prejudices, can fail to be convinced by its arguments. He tears to shreds, one after the other (though with most gentle hand), the misleading and often entirely false

statements which one Protestant controversialist copies from another, without ever verifying quotations or ascertaining whether the statement he repeats is true or false. He examines for instance with elaborate care, one of these false assertions made by a certain Protestant controversialist, who has written a pamphlet called the Roman question under the name of an Aged Priest, and who brings forward what he calls an "enumeration" of the Fathers as witnesses against the Catholic interpretation of St. Matthew xvi. 16—19. After showing how each in turn says the opposite of what is attributed to him he sums up—

Such is the "enumeration" of "the Fathers" as witnesses against the Roman claims from Holy Scripture produced by one who signs himself an "Aged Priest." It is a distressing chapter. St. Chrysostom is contradicted *totidem verbis*, p. 28. St. Augustine is misquoted, p. 25, and contradicted, p. 24. Tostatus is set against St. Jerome. Du Pin is quoted as arguing that "govern My sheep," and "teach all nations," are identical, p. 25. St. James's words at Jerusalem are made to mean what neither St. Jerome, nor St. Chrysostom, nor any known writing of any Father saw in them, p. 26. The contention between St. Peter and St. Paul is interpreted in a different way from what it is by the Fathers, p. 26. (p. 34.)

The book is addressed to the author of a certain modern text-book of Protestant controversy, to which Mr. Rivington pays the high compliment of calling it quite the ablest defence of the Anglican position that has appeared, considering its small compass. But however able it may be, we do not think Mr. Rivington leaves its author much ground to stand upon when we read the following passage :

How often in my Anglican ministry have I rung the changes on Cyprian, Meletius, Augustine—Cyprian and Stephen, Meletius and Damasus, Augustine and Zosimus! I find the same note struck in your own book ; it is a sort of refrain in the dirge that you chant over what I must call the funeral of the Church ; for, indeed, the Church of Christ as Christ founded it, with a promise that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, is gently lowered to her grave by your theory of perpetual schism as the universal feature of her sick and palsied frame. It is perhaps here that the most fundamental difference between the Catholic and the Anglican conception of the Church is to be found. With you the Church is ever in error ; I mean the visible Church. . . . I cannot find any successor of Peter in your book who did not act from unworthy motives and make a mistake as

to the very nature of his office, saints although they be. I find only a Church in which the unity of love has been always broken all round ; though somehow, in a way that I cannot grasp, the unity of faith (you hold) has been preserved (p. 68)—preserved, you contend, in spite of “an irrational and unhistoric claim (p. 69), sacrificing the claims of truth, and mercy, and love (p. 67) made for fifteen hundred years by the largest and most powerful portion of Christendom ; a unity of faith preserved (you declare) in spite of this gigantic error (as you must consider it) touching the very vitals of all religion, laying another foundation of authority than that is laid ; a unity of faith preserved, although “the schismatic spirit (you admit) was at work in the Reformation in England,” and “the deprival of the Marian prelates in England introduced a certain degree of irregularity into the circumstances of Parker’s consecration” (p. 89) ; a unity of faith preserved in spite of the “blank conservatism” “and the ambition which centred round the See of Constantinople.” Why, it is a picture which might be summed up by saying, “Beautiful bride of Christ, thou hast been altogether faithless to thy Lord : the gates of Hell have prevailed against thee : the promises of thy spouse have proved of none effect ; and on thy brow should be written not Israel, but Ichabod. The finger of Divine Providence has written of thee on the wall of history, ‘Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.’” (pp. 91—93.)

We should like to know what reply the Ritualists will make to this vigorous assailant of their sophisms and misrepresentations. Perhaps their wisest policy will be to ignore what is unanswerable.

5.—LIFE OF PÈRE SALLIER.¹

The raising up in our midst of the magnificent Charterhouse at Parkminster has naturally turned the minds of English people back to an Order which has left its mark so distinctly in the religious history of this country. To Catholics more especially the institute which trained St. Hugh of Lincoln and the newly beatified Martyrs of London and of Sheen, must have always special interest. The work before us reveals the secret training which produced in an age of almost universal apostacy such heroic witnesses to the faith of Jesus Christ.

Dom Victor Marie, the Prior of Parkminster, in his *Life of Dom Sallier*, speaks as one of another world to the busy and godless nineteenth century. The subject of his pen is one who was cast in no common mould, and like so many of his time his father was a child of the Revolution, honest, upright, and of high

¹ *Vie du Père Dom Jean Sallier.* Par Dom Victor Marie Doreau. Paris, 1888.

moral principle, he was yet a Christian only in name. Upon Madame Sallier, as is often the case in France, devolved the duty of bringing up her children as only a thorough Catholic mother is able. Much of the side interest of the life is to be found in the gradual dawning of faith upon Monsieur Sallier. Uldaric, the subject of the biography, was in his love of prayer and of austeries marked out in early life for his vocation. Strange to say he met with the most violent opposition on the part of his mother. However, a character like his own, supported by the power of grace, could not be turned from its resolve, and the history of his flight to La Chartreuse is one of the many interesting episodes of the book.

The second portion of the work portrays in its smallest details life in a Charterhouse. We see him as a novice, as a priest, as a Master of Novices, and as a Visitor of some of the foreign houses. Dom Sallier was a man of a marked character, his obedience was of the true Carthusian stamp, and was perfect of its kind. Nothing is more interesting in the lives of saints than to notice how strongly individual character comes out under the influence of grace. As also with other saints, God demanded of him the surrender of his life under circumstances of great agony, as a fitting termination to a holocaust so pure and so complete.

There is, as we might expect from a Carthusian biographer, an unworldliness and a frankness of expression on things which are not to the taste of our time, which give to the book a striking mark of truth. The sunset of the life was worthy of its dawn, and no one can read unmoved the description of his sufferings and his death. One rises from the perusal of this book with a conviction that as long as the Charterhouses, few and far between as they are now, keep the perfection and severity of their rule, God will have mercy upon the peoples and the cities for which they offer up their intercession and atonement unto God.

6.—A ROMANCE OF THE RECUSANTS.¹

In this story the writer of the *Life of a Prig* has changed his rôle. His object is no longer to accentuate extravagances by judiciously over-painting them, but to pave the

¹ *A Romance of the Recusants.* By the Author of the *Life of a Prig*, &c. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1888.

way to a wider knowledge of some realities which are a great deal stranger than fictions. He has studied the story of the sufferings of English Catholics under religious persecution, and has reconstructed the picture of their life from the wonderful incidents, escapes, and adventures, which may be found in abundance in such works as the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*. True, the reproduction is not quite so wonderful as the original. But then it is not an easy thing to grasp the full meaning of those strange and unwonted occurrences, and many are sure to find this little volume of very great value to assist in the realization of a state of things, which from a thousand points of view deserves our attention and our study.

Merely as a romance, indeed, this little work has many claims to excellence. The escapes and adventures would by themselves make the fortune of a book many degrees inferior to the one before us. And there is not only abundance of novel incident, but the characters also seem to move and converse as living folk might do, and albeit Elizabethan, they do not trouble us with archaeology. Finally, the lambent wit of our old friend the Prig enlivens the whole very effectively, and sometimes, as in the letters of Lady Talltowers, shows to great advantage. There are a few historical slips. Thus it is an anachronism to speak about coffins in Elizabeth's days (p. 177), and though prisoners could sometimes buy an extraordinary amount of liberty from their gaolers, this is a very different thing from being allowed freedom by the authorities (p. 221). But such mistakes are so small and few, that they serve to accentuate the fidelity of the whole picture. For the main features numerous parallels might be quoted.

Of course the whole question of treating quasi-sacred subjects from an imaginative point of view is one which is very open to debate, and we are not sure that our author has been always successful. Sometimes his work is remarkably good of its kind, as in the very delicate task of describing the feelings of Clare Sherrington, the young lady of the story, who, after a sore struggle, gives up her claim on Sir Everard Gordon in order that he may become a priest. The whole-hearted way in which she makes the sacrifice leads us naturally to understand and accept the higher views with which she ever afterwards regards her former lover. We must also congratulate him on having brought so much of the pathos of Ethel Sher-

rington's story within conventional limits, where the nude barbarities of truth would have been too shocking for modern decorum. On the other hand, the spiritual trials of Sir Everard are not so happily described, as when the author describes the allurements of life, with which the condemned Martyr is tempted; and again the words which he addresses to a Protestant minister on the scaffold:

"My dear sir," said Everard, "would you mind standing a little further off, for when you are so near there is a strong effluvium of spirits!"

But while we dissent on one or two matters of this sort we heartily commend the book as a thoroughly readable and very entertaining volume.

7.—PSYCHOLOGY.¹

The new work on Psychology by Father Lahousse is a valuable addition to the current Latin text-books on the subject. The readers of his previous book on Cosmology, will naturally expect in the present volume an able exposition of the Scholastic doctrine on the subject, and they will not be disappointed. Profound acquaintance with St. Thomas, and deep sympathy with the spirit of the Angelic Doctor, is conspicuous throughout the work. The *Psychologia*, containing about six hundred pages large octavo, is the most complete Latin manual which we have yet seen on the subject. It follows in a general way the line of treatment found in the manual by Father Liberatore and other scholastic text-books, but having larger space at command, it can afford a fuller discussion of minor points as well as a richer stock of difficulties. Father Lahousse aims here, as in his previous volume, rather at solidity and exhaustiveness of treatment than at attractiveness of form or style. The book is evidently designed for serious students, and will amply repay their labour.

As regards particular points of interest we notice that he holds with Suarez and Aristotle against St. Thomas that the internal senses are not really distinct faculties. He also opposes the Angelic Doctor, and we think on inferior grounds, as regards the character of the primitive intellectual idea, teaching that specific essences, and not the universal notion of Being, are

¹ *Praelectiones Metaphysice Specialis.* Vol. II. *Psychologia.* G. Lahousse, S.J. Louvain.

first in the order of acquisition. The historical exposition of the views of different schools, especially of those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is clear and copious, while the writer shows he is also well acquainted with the philosophical literature of the last eighty years. Still we regret that he has not devoted more space to the erroneous theories of this latter period. Trite refutations of the decayed metaphysicians who existed between Hobbes and Kant might be profitably exchanged in our Latin text-books for the demolition of the more subtle and dangerous enemies of to-day. Taine and Büchner, Spencer and Bain, could, we believe, with advantage be profitably substituted for Locke, Condillac, and the erratic disciples of Descartes. In this country even Mill has passed into the glacial period, and the newest school classify him with extinct species of philosophers.

Father Lahousse evidently feels that the modern errors must be attacked at their fountain-head, and we fully agree with him. For the adequate comprehension of even the most recent philosophical extravagances, at least a general outline of the doctrines of the pioneers of modern speculation is necessary; but it is also very needful that false doctrines should be undermined and exploded in their freshest and most attractive forms. In making this remark, however, we do not wish to imply that Father Lahousse ignores current errors. So far is this from being the case that, with the exception of Father Pesch, we think there is no other writer of scholastic manuals who gives so much space to their refutation. We merely want to express regret that he has not devoted a larger proportion of his space to a subject for which he is so well qualified.

As regards the origin of living beings and the formation of new species the author is decidedly uncompromising. The schoolmen, as is well known, were wont to allow the possibility of equivocal generation and of the production of new species. In fact it has been forcibly argued that the view, previous to Darwin's book, universally prevalent, as to the fixity and permanence of particular species of animals and plants, had its origin in the advance of botanical and zoological science subsequent to the Reformation, and that although common modes of thought and language implied certain pretty constant divisions among the animal and vegetable kingdoms, yet the liberal admission of *Generatio æquivoca* and *Majora magnalia naturæ* by scholastic writers on scientific subjects would be abundantly ample enough to meet all the requirements of the most exacting transformationist. The definition of species in the brute king-

dom is one which pertains to the positive science of zoology rather than to philosophy, and a very great weight of the more recent authorities in biological science leans towards the derivation of the present innumerable forms of life from a few general types. As regards the formation of the body of man by God from that of some lower animal, Father Lahousse teaches that such a view is difficult to reconcile with the Mosaic account, yet cannot be said to stand in open contradiction with Holy Writ. "Ægre videtur cum narratione Mosis componi quod corpus animalis fuisset a Deo aliquatenus immutatum et proxime dispositum in corpus humanum, . . . attamen dici non potest hanc hypothesim aperte adversari Litteris Sacris." (p. 223.)

We trust that the space necessarily devoted in a review to the minor points that we would have wished otherwise, will not hide our appreciation of this valuable work as a whole. We look on it as an excellent manual not only for ecclesiastical students, but for all those who wish to fit themselves to attack the scholastic philosophy in the works of its great founders. We accordingly recommend it to our readers.

8.—ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.¹

It gives us real pleasure to see that Cardinal Wiseman is not forgotten. Father Murphy has done us a service, for which we are very grateful, by reproducing some of the late Cardinal's essays. They deserve to live. Their interest is permanent, and it is a comfort to have them at hand. The selection seems to us judicious, as far as it goes, but we miss some old friends. We have no other fault to find than that we should have been glad of more. The articles on the Parables, Miracles and Actions of our Lord we are particularly glad to see reproduced. It was in Scripture subjects, applied to the thoughts and needs of the present day, that Cardinal Wiseman was always at his best; and nothing is more useful than the teaching thus conveyed of the true sense of the Bible record. The value of what we may call the little pearls, incidental expressions, comparative trifles, is brought out with great force and feeling. The three articles we have mentioned were

¹ *Essays on Various Subjects.* By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, late Archbishop of Westminster. With a Biographical Introduction by the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, Queenstown. London : Thomas Baker, 1, Soho Square, 1888.

written by Cardinal Wiseman when he was Bishop, while others in the volume date still further back, and are due to the long years spent by him in Rome, where his mind was maturing and the knowledge accumulating, of which he was afterwards to make such admirable use. Not less skilful is the Cardinal's handling of the writings of the Fathers and of the life of the Primitive Christians, and their application to the controversies of modern life. Of this also we have some specimens in the volume before us.

We must not say, *more* welcome, but fully *as* welcome as these old friends, is the new friend that Father Murphy has presented to us. A biography of Cardinal Wiseman has long been a desideratum, and Father Murphy in his Introduction of forty pages has gone a long way towards supplying the want. All that could be done in the space at his disposal Father Murphy has done. The important events of the Cardinal's life are all touched with a light and delicate hand, and it is not necessary to say that Father Murphy's rapid sketch is appreciative and sympathetic. We welcome the volume, which is well calculated to keep alive the memory of a great name.

9.—“THE OLD HOUSE BY THE BOYNE.”¹

Ere introducing to her readers the *dramatis personæ*, the author gives, by way of prologue, a brief but interesting sketch of the old Anglo-Norman town of Drogheda (“the Bridge of the Ford”—*Droichid-atha*), and its environs, the scene of her earliest memories. We next make acquaintance with the inmates of the “Old House,” and find ourselves taking a quasi-family interest in their doings, their hopes, joys, and sorrows, for the obvious reason that the several characters are drawn from the life, and play their respective parts in this domestic drama with a truth to nature which cannot fail to strike those who have enjoyed the intimacy of an Irish household. The plot of this interesting tale originates in a misunderstanding between two lovers, which, to all seeming, has blighted the happiness of the elder of the two lady inmates of the eponymous mansion, and has issued in the death by shipwreck of her *fiancé*. A series of incidents, to our mind needlessly, yet

¹ *The Old House by the Boyne.* By Mrs. J. Sadlier. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son, 1888.

in no wise tediously prolonged, leads up to the *dénouement*. A young Italian, cast ashore in a storm, is carried to the "Old House," and tended by the heart-stricken lady, who discovers in him a close likeness to the object of her life-long but bootless repentance. He gains admittance into the family circle, and the "Old House" becomes, as it were, his second home. As a matter of course he becomes attached to the younger of the two ladies, whom, in the end, he marries, but this is anticipating. As the story proceeds, it gradually breaks upon us that this favoured youth's widowed father is none other but the lover whom the fancied coldness of the lady he wooed had driven into banishment, as it turns out after all that he has been all but miraculously rescued from death. Mutual explanations ensue, the misunderstanding which had well-nigh wrecked the happiness of two lives is cleared up, and the clouds which had so long darkened the prospects of the two lovers show their silver lining. The ladies and gentlemen to whom we have been introduced in the course of the tale pair off to the matrimonial altar. Though not perfect in construction, the *Old House by the Boyne* approaches perfection much more closely than the loose-jointed stories which cumber the shelves of circulating libraries. It presents an unstudied but faithful picture of Irish home life, of its graceful charities, its cheerful piety, its refined simplicity, and stainless purity, and is thus calculated to subserve a higher purpose than that of ministering to harmless relaxation.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE Bishop of Salford has added another to his series of little treatises,¹ remarkable alike for the beauty of their language and the spiritual value of the lessons they inculcate. He treats in it of the chief things that Catholics ought to know and to practise in honour of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He discusses the Priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Identity of the Sacrifice with that on the Cross, the Divine and Human

¹ *On the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* By the Bishop of Salford. London: Burns and Oates, Limited.

Perfections manifested by our Lord in it, and urges with great force in chapter after chapter the importance of hearing Mass often and hearing it well. The best recommendation of the book, after its author's name, will be a couple of short quotations.

The Divine Victim is immolated during every hour of the night and day. There are lands where He is being offered in gorgeous Churches, warm and rich, and beautiful with art ; the worshippers are streaming in and out from early twilight until noon. Priests follow one another in rapid succession, emerging from the great Sacristy, to different altars in Chapels scattered around the aisles and transepts of some majestic *Duomo*. In Basilica and Cathedral, in simple Church and private Oratory throughout Italy, Spain, and France,—away in peaceful hamlets nestled amid hills and olive groves, and in plains and fruitful vineyards, and in the denser populations of the towns—upon the Altars the tapers burn, and tinkling bells tell of the dread Sacrifice until noon suspends, for a time, the sacred rites.

In other lands the spotless Victim is offered in lonely Chapels and modest Churches which speak of poverty and persecution, and where the worshippers are few and scattered like grapes that have escaped the vintage (pp. 107, 108).

Speaking of the value of being remembered in Holy Mass, the Bishop says :

The greatest favour a priest can show you next to offering the Sacrifice for you is to make a *memento* of you in the Mass. It is an honour and a great spiritual advantage to be named officially in the Holy Mysteries. It is like making a special presentation of you and of your necessities to our dear Lord and to the Adorable Trinity (p. 113).

The book ends with some practical ways of hearing Mass.

The Catholic Truth Society has re-issued the second of Cardinal Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*.² It deals with Protestant tradition, and like all else that proceeds from the pen of its illustrious author, it is incomparable in its picturesque power of bringing out the leading features of that evil inheritance of error and misrepresentation which form the subject of the lecture. If our readers are not acquainted with it or want to have their memories refreshed respecting its contents, this cheap edition brings it within the reach of all.

² *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England. II.* By John Henry Newman, D.D. &c. London : Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, S.E.

On the 24th of May, the Foundation Stone of the new Catholic University was laid at Washington, and on this important occasion an address was delivered by Dr. Spalding, the Bishop of Peoria,³ who has taken an active part in the founding the University. His oration has since been published, and well indeed it deserves it. His language is eloquent and vigorous, and we read his words with great interest. There is an originality in what he says—no one can accuse him of being behind the age. Nay, we are inclined to think that he disparages the past rather unnecessarily, as when he says:

Aristotle is a great mind, but his learning is crude and his ideas of nature are frequently grotesque. St. Thomas is a powerful intellect, but his point of view, in all that concerns natural knowledge, has long since vanished from sight. What poverty of learning does not the early mediæval scheme of education reveal; and when in the twelfth century, the idea of a university rises in the best minds, how incomplete and vague it is! (p. 17.)

We confess we do not agree with him in either of the three opinions here so unreservedly expressed, nevertheless his speech is certainly a very fine one and shows that American Catholics are determined not to be behindhand in the higher culture and the march of civilization.

We have long desired to see a pamphlet setting forth with telling force and convincing clearness the arguments from reason, Scripture, and Christian antiquity for Papal Supremacy and Infallibility.⁴ At last our wish has been fulfilled, and by one who, having been Professor both of Theology and of Scripture, is admirably well suited to his task. With language of great moderation, and a full knowledge of what can be said on the other side, Father Smith has condensed into thirty-six pages arguments enough to convince any reasonable Protestant who is not blinded by prejudice or pride. We hope that the pamphlet will circulate widely among Anglicans, and among Catholics who find it necessary to meet the assertions and misrepresentations of opponents.

Catholics are often reproached with being ignorant of Bible history, and the charge is not altogether an unfounded one.

³ *An Address*, delivered at the Laying of the Cornerstone of the Catholic University, at Washington, D.C., May 24, 1888, by J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria. Peoria, Ill.: Published by B. Cremer and Bros., 1888.

⁴ *Papal Supremacy and Infallibility*. By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, S.E.

Dr. Schuster is therefore supplying a real need in providing us with an Abridged History⁵ of all the important events of the Old and New Testament from the Creation to the Day of Pentecost, in less than one hundred very moderately sized pages. It is written in simple language, but sometimes we are reminded by the style of its being a translation. In a book for children great care should be taken to avoid mis-spellings: *leperous* and *medecine* catch our eye on two consecutive pages (60, 61). The little verses are not so effective in the English as in the original German, e.g. (p. 65):

No teacher can be like to Thee,
O Jesus, rich in wisdom, love
By word and deed Thou teachest me,
The road to happiness above.

These, however, are but trifling blemishes on this admirable and comprehensive little book. They can be easily remedied by a careful revision by an English scholar.

*The Catholic Prayer Book*⁶ is a useful collection of ordinary prayers for ordinary Christians, and as most of us are ordinary Christians, it is well adapted for the large majority of Catholics who say their prayers, hear Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation, and go regularly to their duties once a fortnight or once a month. It wisely stops short of the insertion of those thousand and one prayers and devotions that every compiler is tempted to accumulate, but contains all that is necessary. Its convenient size and careful finish will make it a useful present for any one to whom we desire to give a serviceable prayer-book.

*Visits to the Tabernacle*⁷ is an adaptation taken from a French book of devotion. It gives a number of simple thoughts, or points for a short meditation bearing on our Lord's Eucharistic Presence. It is sufficiently recommended by the Bishop of Southwark's words of Introduction, saying that it will, in his opinion, do much to promote devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. The Visits are enough to provide for a daily visit during seven weeks. They are based on types in the Old Testament and on

⁵ *Abridged Bible History of the Old and New Testaments.* By I. Schuster, D.D. Translated from the German. Third Edition, with Forty-three Plates. Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder, 1888.

⁶ *Visits to Jesus in the Tabernacle.* London : Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, S.E., 1888.

⁷ *The Catholic Prayer Book. A short Manual of Private Devotions.* London Burns and Oates, Limited.

the words and actions of our Blessed Lord. They are very short and pleasantly varied, and we hope that many who pay a visit from time to time to the Blessed Sacrament will carry with them this little manual.

II.—MAGAZINES.

In the pages of the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Father von Hammerstein points out, in a second article on the proposed code of Civil Law for the whole German Empire, that, should its marriage regulations come into force, opposition between the secular and religious authorities will exist only in the case of Catholics. For the Protestant, the head of the State is also the head of the Church, and can legislate in that capacity; while a large proportion of the population—in Berlin about two-thirds—recognize no authority but that of the State. To insure freedom of conscience, and prevent practical Christianity being eliminated from public life, three codes would be necessary; the new one would suffice for those who profess no creed at all; for Protestants, who still attach to marriage a religious character, one must be formed; while Catholics must be permitted to follow the rule of the Church which recognizes certain impediments to marriage, and declares its bond indissoluble. Darwinism took deep root on German soil, and gave birth to a crop of writers who, not content with supporting the brilliant hypothesis of organic evolution, constructed from it a new system of the universe. Father Boetzkes exposes the absurdities to which these monistic theories lead, citing for the benefit of the reader some extravagant utterances of the "modern pagans," who profess to be enlighteners of humanity, and propagandists of truth. Father Baumgartner, whose talent for the graphic description of men and things is well known to us, contributes an entertaining sketch of the Russian capital, its splendid palaces, its museums and other public buildings, the busy life of its gay and crowded streets; fragments of history being introduced from time to time, so as to add greatly to the interest and instruction of the whole. The *Stimmen* also devotes considerable space to the review of a work of no small value to the student of history, viz., an exhaustive account of the fall of the House of Stuart, and the Hanoverian succession in England in connection with the history of the other nations of Europe.

The June number of the *Katholik* contains the conclusion of the commentary on the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, wherein the necessity of the secular authority being subordinate to the spiritual is asserted. In support of this truth, more or less contested in all ages, numerous arguments are brought forward; and the recent attack upon this Bull is shown to be founded on wilful misinterpretation of certain passages and their separation from the context. The decision of the Holy Office condemnatory of the Rosminian propositions, forms the subject of another article, in which is given a notice of Rosmini's life and works, and the errors into which he fell. The *Katholik* also enters upon an inquiry into the respective authenticity and historical value of the two accounts handed down to us of the death of the Theban Legion, commemorated on the 22nd of September, who were massacred by order of Maximian for refusing to take part in the persecution of their fellow-Christians. The first, the work of a certain Eucherius, metropolitan of Lyons in the former half of the fifth century, is brief and simple; the other, which agrees with it on main points, but is far more elaborate in detail and pretentious in style, is attributed to a monk of the sixth century, whose name is not known. Dr. Bellesheim, who is well entitled to speak on matters concerning the history of Catholicism in Great Britain, contributes an excellent article on the reception afforded to the French refugee clergy in England, and the influence exercised by their presence on the revival of the faith in this country.

The result of the administrative elections of the 17th of June, which occasioned an outburst of exultation in Rome on the part of the Government, and of religious hatred on the part of the mob, is shown by the *Civiltà Cattolica* (913) to have been no real victory, the contest having been utterly unequal. A numerical victory it undeniably was, for the independent electors were more than overwhelmed by the number of individuals, hundreds of whom possessed no title to vote, whom bureaucratic influence and intrigue forced to the polling-place. And this election is dignified with the name of "a solemn plebiscite in favour of the *intangibility* of Rome!" Another article remarks on the unparalleled spectacle of which the Eternal City during the last six months has been the scene. Bands of pilgrims from far and near, of every nationality and every social grade, amounting, by rough computation, to some 130,000 persons, have arrived, in unbroken succession, to pray at the tomb of

St. Peter, to offer humble homage at the throne of his successor. What effect, it is asked, has this moral triumph of the Holy See had on the enemies of the Papacy? It has evoked fresh outrages against religion, fresh legal enactments to curtail the liberty of the Christian subjects of an anti-Christian Government. The writer of the series of articles on political economy takes for his subject the duty of beneficence, and explains on the authority of St. Thomas, in what superfluity consists, the obligation of the rich to bestow that superfluity on the needy, and the motive for which this should be done, viz., the love of God; concluding with some excellent remarks on public charitable institutions, which, to ensure their usefulness, should be entrusted to the care of the Church.

Among so much interesting matter contained in the pages of the *Études* for July it is difficult to select anything for special mention. Father Mercier gives a delightful sketch of Paul Féval, whose name occupies an honourable position among the French novelists of the day, not only on account of the literary merit of his works, but because in all the romances he published during thirty years, not a single word is found disrespectful to religion, or in any wise suggestive of evil to the reader. In the article before us this illustrious and brilliant writer is exhibited as a man and a Christian, as he was in private and social life; the review of his literary achievements is reserved for a future paper. The critique of Father Bonniot's treatise on the origin and nature of evil, will awaken in every one the desire to acquaint himself more closely with that able and instructive treatise, which gives the solution of the problem in the fact that evil has no existence in itself, but is a lack, the absence of a part, an interruption of the order of the universe. Father Desjacques gives a good synopsis of the main argument of evolutionistic philosophy, from which the moral law governing human actions is excluded and made to give place to a vague doctrine of general utility and public weal. The reader will concur in the strictures on the system of education proposed by the French Republic for girls, the object and result of which is not the formation of better women, but the deformation of the Christian woman, and the destruction all that is good in the feminine character. The answer to the objections urged against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch by modern expositors is brought to conclusion in this number of the *Études*.



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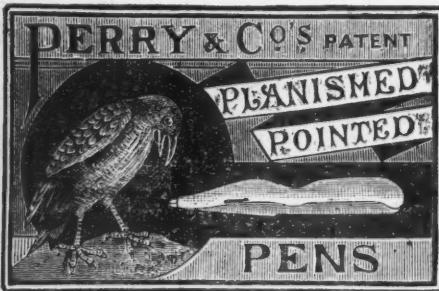
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PATENT

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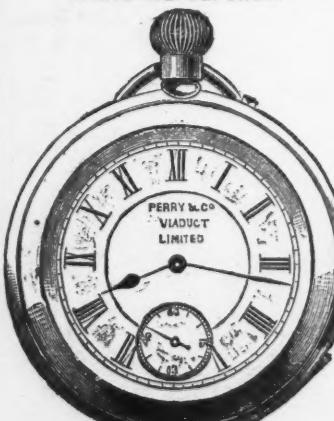
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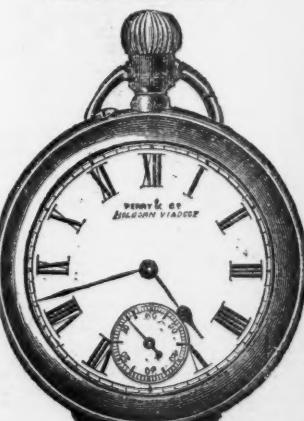
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Solid Silver Case, Keyless Action, Horizontal Movement,
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